FBIS DAILY REPORT

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GOVERNMENT DECREE RESTRICTS FOOD EXPORTS

AU031425 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA) -- A decree of the Council of Ministers concerning the limitation of foreign citizens' carrying consumer goods out of Bulgaria became effective as from today.

The decree reads that in recent years foreign citizens have been buying and carrying out substantial quantities of foodstuffs and consumer goods due to the much lower retail prices in Bulgaria compared to the prices in her neighboring and other countries. The measures so far taken by the customs authorities for defence of the home market have not turned effective enough and have not given the expected result. This makes it imperative to carry through extra measures for limiting the taking out of goods.

In order to avoid any difficulties which might arise in connection with supplying the population with basic commodities, the Council of Ministers disallows the carrying out of foodstuffs and consumer goods by foreign citizens.

Among the prohibited items are meat, meat products, beans, packed flour, sugar, cooking oil, imported spices, baby food and rice.

The ban also refers to children's wear and footwear, cotton and natural silk fabrics, blankets, knitted underwear, men's and ladies' shoes, electric washing machines and vacuum-cleaners, electric meters, clocks for two-tarif electric meters, household chinaware and enamelled and stainless domestic utensils.

The commodities found at the checkpoints will be confiscated in favour of the state.

The decree also stipulates the new customs taxes to be imposed on some of the goods allowed for carrying in and out by physical persons (both foreign and Bulgarian citizens).

300 per cent export duties are fixed on the retail prices in Bulgaria of dairy produce, cereals, butter, sugar products, tinned fish and meat, coffee, cocoa, tea, red pepper and wool and woollen fabrics.

200 per cent duties are fixed for knitted woollen wear, Persian rugs, fur and leather and products made out of them, detergents, electric heaters and cookers.

Sewing machines, coloured TV sets, crystal glassware, some personal-use craftman's machines, cutlery, photomaterials, benzine and gas oil in motor vehicles registered abroad, outside their tanks.

100 per cent import duties are fixed for stoves of liquid fuel derivative of oil, 60 per cent -- on motor car parts and sound-producing systems, (?220) per cent -- on wood-processing and metal-processing machines, on jewelry, cosmetics, alcoholic drinks and tobacco.

INDIA'S GANDHI INTERVIEWED PRIOR TO VISIT

AU031502 Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Delhi, 3 Nov (BTA correspondent) -- Before her visit to Bulgaria, which is expected to begin on November 6, the Indian prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, spoke to the correspondent of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY in Delhi.

She said that Bulgarian-Indian friendship is conditioned by the wish of the two countries to work for a peaceful world and a hormonious society.

"India and Bulgaria maintain excellent bilateral relations," said Mrs Indira Gandhi. In spite of their geographical remoteness and the different characters of their economic systems, she went on, the economic cooperation between the two countries is developing favorably. Cultural exchanges, too, have increased.

Mrs Indira Gandhi expressed hope that her visit to Bulgaria will further consolidate the relations of friendship and mutual respect existing between the two countries.

Dwelling on the international situation she noted that India stands for the easing of tension in the world and that India believes every dispute between two countries can be resolved through peaceful negotiations and that war and atrocity are avoidable.

My own view, stressed Mrs Gandhi, is that spheres of understanding should be found between India and the other countries and their range expanded, that we should work to strengthen the existing friendship and to remove mistrust and indifference.

"The number of people who sincerely wish peace and happiness in all countries is rising constantly. This is especially true for the socialist countries, whose memory still keeps alive the difficulties and the horrors they lived through in the Second World War. They do not wish such an agony to be repeated for neither them nor others" said the prime minister of India.

The countries of the socialist world she added support the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean basin in their struggle for national freedom and against racism.

Speaking about the philosophy of non-alignment, Mrs Indira Gandhi noted that the aim of the newly-liberated states has been not to divert their resources into aims of defence and to play a part between two blocks in the name of friendship and for the improvement of relations.

"In a time when the nuclear and conventional weapons already stored are sufficient to destroy the planet at a time, the avoiding of confrontation is of paramount significance. The nonaligned countries continue to contribute to a peaceful atmosphere" she said.

Mrs Indira Gandhi said that the countries of the basin of (?the Indian Ocean) wish that the region be converted into a zone of peace, but the stockpiling of weapons and the pressures in that part of the world are getting more than the other parts of the world. It is not up to our power to prevent this, but we shall continue to express our firm conviction with the hope that our arguments will be taken into consideration," [quote mark as received] she stressed.

Dwelling on the political situation in Asia, Mrs Indira Gandhi expressed hope that the peoples in that continent and their countries will realize that self-preservation depends on their ability to be more united and to keep off conflicts.

SOVIET DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR CELEBRATIONS

AU031145 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Summary] "In connection with the celebrations devoted to the 64th anniversary of the October socialist revolution in Bulgaria, a delegation of the Society for Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship led by Nikolay Korzh, Ukraine minister of the Sovkhozes, deputy at the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Ukraine republican branch of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society, has arrived in Sofia." On his arrival, Nikolay Korzh expressed his pleasure at being in Bulgaria.

YORDANOV RECEIVES BELORUSSIAN CULTURAL MINISTER

AU031143 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Comrade Georgi Yordanov has received Yuriy (Mikevich), Belorussian minister of culture, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the 10-day period devoted to the Bulgarian-Soviet creative arts. Lyubomir Pavlov, chief of the Cultural Department at the BCP Central Committee and Dimitur Filipov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture, also attended the talks.

JOINT ECONOMIC COOPERATION SESSION WITH CUBA

First Meeting 2 Nov

AU021704 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA) -- The 15th session of the Bulgaro-Cuban Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation opened here today. At the plenary meeting, headed by the co-chairmen of the commission, Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Flavio Bravo, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Cuba, a wide range of problems of the bilateral economic cooperation was discussed. The implementation of the decisions of the 4th session of the commission was discussed. It was stated that bilateral contacts in various spheres of the economy, science and technology are developing successfully.

Stressed was the positive development of contacts in mechanical engineering and especially in the production of handling and hoisting machines (electric and motor trucks of Bulgarian-made components are assembled in Cuba), in the field of farm machine-building, manufacture of cold store and air condition devices, hydraulic products, metal-cutting machines, etc. On the question of building complete plants on Cuban soil with Bulgarian aid it was stressed that the cooperation schedule has been fulfilled on time and that agreements have been reached in reconstruction and updating of a series of projects, including enterprises of the food industry. Bilateral contacts in electronics and electrical engineering were also discussed.

Bilateral relations in agriculture were also discussed. It was pointed out that in recent years attention has been focused on a wide-scale exchange of experience in grain production, tobacco-growing, plant control. It was stressed that Bulgarian knowhow in agriculture is widely used in Cuba.

Cooperation in tourism, mining and metallurgy, in transport, science and technology was considered, too. The two sides noted on the successful implementation of a bilateral techno-scientific programme adopted in 1980. Outlined were measures for expanding Bulgarian assistance in the training of Cuban specialists.

Underlined was bilateral willingness for extending and diversification of exchange which is expected this year to amount to about 240 million roubles.

Zhivkov Receives Bravo 3 Nov

AU031500 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr Flavio Bravo, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Cuban Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Commission, who is visiting Bulgaria for the 15th session of the commission.

They discussed the state and prospects for Bulgaro-Cuban relations. They also discussed the implementation of the accords achieved by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Fidel Castro during the visit of the Bulgarian party and state leader to Cuba in 1979.

In connection with the policy conducted by imperialism, a policy of pressure and threats against Cuba, Mr Todor Zhivkov reaffirmed the invariable solidarity of the Bulgarian communists, of the entire Bulgarian people with revolutionary Cuba.

DULBOKOV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CUBA

AU022042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] On 2 November a delegation of the Fatherland Front National Council led by Sava Dulbokov, first deputy secretary of the National Council, returned from Cuba. The delegation took part in the Second Congress of the Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the Fourth Conference of the National Fronts of the Socialist Countries and the Public Organizations of the States Following the Socialist Road of Development.

STANISHEV RECEIVES KAMPUCHEAN POLITBURO MEMBER

AU311525 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 31 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr (Bu Thong), member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. During the talks which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, information was exchanged on the two parties' activity, on the situation in Bulgaria and Kampuchea and on some matters of the international communist and workers' movement. Absolute identity of the two parties' stands was expressed on all the matters discussed.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr (Bu Thong) discussed the state of the existing fraternal relations of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and affirmed the two parties' readiness to expand and deepen their cooperation, to assist in consolidating the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES LCY'S DRAGOSAVAC

AU241831 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, expressing on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on his own behalf cordial greetings on his election as present of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and wishing him successes in his highly responsible post. The telegram also expresses a deep conviction that the coopeation between the BCP and the LCY has a decisive importance for further developing the relations between our two neighboring socialist countries, in the interest of the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples and in the interest of peace and socialism in the Balkans and in the world.

JARUZELSKI THANKS ZHIVKOV FOR ELECTION GREETINGS

AU272121 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a telegram to Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressing gratitude for the congratulations and wishes conveyed to him on the occasion of his election to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

"The consolidation of the party ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and around the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, as well as the consistent implementation of the decisions adopted by the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum -- all these things -- will give us an opportunity for effectively resisting the counterrevolutionary forces and for leading the country out of the deep socioeconomic crisis," the telegram states.

"We are grateful to the Bulgarian communists and to the Bulgarian people for the fraternal solidarity and support expressed for our party's actions and for the actions of all patriotic forces in Poland aimed at defending and consolidating our people's socialist achievements."

Wojciech Jaruzelski closes his telegram by expressing confidence that the traditional friendship and cooperation between our two parties and peoples will further develop comprehensively for the benefit of the two fraternal parties and countries, for the sake of the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

PRC NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS EXPRESSES THANKS

AU301118 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] The State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have received a telegram from the PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee and State Council, acknowledging the congratulations on the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC.

BILATERAL TALKS WITH SWITZERLAND HELD IN SOFIA

AU272110 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Oct (BTA) -- The next in series Bulgaro-Swiss political consultations on bilateral relations and topical international issues were held here on October 26 and 27.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was led by the First Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Mariy Ivanov, and the delegation of the Swiss Confederation by the state secretary of the Political Department, Mr Raymond Probst.

A positive assessment was given to the development of relations between Bulgaria and Switzerland.

Readiness was expressed to raise the level of the positive contacts, for expansion of mutually advantageous trade, of the cultural ties and tourism.

During the exchange of views on the international issues a necessity was underlined for strengthening and deepening of the process of detente and for bringing to a halt the arms race, for undertaking efficient measures for detente and for a just and lasting political settling of the outstanding issues.

Mr Raymond Probst was received by the minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov, by the deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, Mr Andrey Lukanov, and by the minister of foreign trade, Mr Khristo Khristov.

FURTHER GREETINGS OBSERVE NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY

Poland's Jablonski

AU201831 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Oct (BTA) -- "Bulgaria's successes, her prosperity in economy, science and culture have enriched mankind with new values, while her contribution to the great cause of peace have brought her general recognition the world over," said Mr Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of Poland.

He underlined that the good relations between Poland and Bulgaria are an important contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community, rallied round their common friend, the Soviet Union.

"In this inviolable unity we see the guarantee of our independence. In the noble cooperation within the CMEA framework we see a possibility to ensure an upsurge in the development of the Polish economy, from the loyality of our party to the principles of Marxism-Leninism we draw our confidence that we shall overcome all difficulties" noted Mr Jablonski.

He thanked the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries for the help rendered to Poland. "This help is easing up our difficulties and assists us in our struggle against the antisocialist forces", said Mr Jablonski.

GDR's Sindermann

AU201835 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Oct (BTA) -- The member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the National Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, Mr Horst Sindermann, said today that the 13 century long history of Bulgaria is a history of struggles against social exploitation, foreign tyranny and national oppression. It is a history characterized with the creation of cultural values, which have had their imprint on the national heritage and have multiplied the wealth of world culture.

He said that after the victory of socialism in Bulgaria the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian people have scored remarkable successes in all spheres of life, successes which have been highly appreciated in the German Democratic Republic.

Mr Horst Sindermann said that the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria will continue to walk shoulder to shoulder along one and the same path. "Together we keep and cherish the indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union, the mightiest stronghold of human progress. Resolutely we are fighting for all-round strengthening of the alliance of the states of the socialist community, against the policy of confrontation and super-armament of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world," he stressed.

Hungary's Apro

AU201625 Sofia BTA in English 1520 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Antal Apro, chairman of Hungary's State Assembly, said: "Today socialist Bulgaria is referred to with gratitude all over the world."

The Hungarian people, he continued, highly esteem Bulgaria's successes in the social, economic and cultural sphere, successes which serve the good of the whole mankind and make Bulgaria's people really proud of them.

Mr Antal Apro emphasized: "The dynamic development, the peaceful foreign political and active international work of Bulgaria, are a magnificent contribution to consolidating the cooperation and friendship, built on internationalist foundations, among the fraternal socialist countries, to the development of international cooperation, for defending peace."

He said that the Hungarian people highly appreciate the two countries' cooperation, the two peoples' friendship, and will further work for their expanding and deepening.

Romania's Radulescu

AU201846 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Text] Sovia, 20 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Gheorge Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party and vice president of Romania's State Council, emphasized that after the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism the traditional Romano-Bulgarian friendship has developed and acquired a new content.

He continued that the two countries' relations are underlied by the common nature of the socialist system, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the principles of international solidarity, of the independence and national sovereignty, of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs, of reciprocal respect and mutual assistance.

The speaker pointed out that Romano-Bulgarian relations are a real model of fruitful and friendly cooperation between neighbouring peoples.

"The successes of the two countries in the building of the new system, the great growth of their economic potential and the successes achieved in Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation, create still greater possibilities for the development of our relations, are a great contribution to the establishing of socialism in the world, to consolidating the friendship and cooperation of the socialist countries, of all forces of progress and peace."

Sandinist Front

AU281255 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following message from Bayardo Arce Castano, coordinator of the Political Committee of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua:

The Sandinist National Liberation Front sends fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the people, Communist Party and Government of Bulgaria on the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state's establishment.

The history of our two peoples, full of struggle and heroic spirit, and our efforts to construct a new society as well as the efforts for reaching social justice and world peace strengthen our conviction that the relations of friendship, cooperation, solidarity and fraternity of Nicaragua's people, its historic vanguard -- the Sandinist National Liberation Front -- and its government with the people, Communist Party and government of the motherland of Georgi Dimitrov will constantly strengthen.

Now, when North American imperialism -- our common enemy -- is threatening world peace, committing aggressions against Nicaragua and interfering in the internal affairs of El Salvador and other countries throughout the world, it is necessary that all nations unite their efforts and reject the militaristic and insane policy of the U.S. administration.

Our peoples have struggled for peace. Now we have to defend and protect it.

Bulgaria is a country which Nicaragua received solidarity from in support of our efforts to construct a new society. We were acquainted with a fraternal country and have identified with its people. Our fraternal relations will strengthen daily.

Dear comrades, please accept our most sincere and warm greetings on the 1,300th anniversary of establishing the Bulgarian state. We believe that the goals set by your people, party and government will be implemented during the new century.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, CITIZENS' FREEDOM DISCUSSED

AU281720 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Evgeni Tanchev, candidate of juridical sciences: "The Strength of the Socialist State Is Based on the People"]

[Excerpts] Socialist democracy is passing through various stages of development which correspond to the stage of socialist construction. The perfection of socialist democracy is an uninterrupted process of expanding the citizens' participation in public administration.

The principle of the BCP's leading role is explained and laid down in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted in 1971. The Bulgarian Communist Party is leading the construction of socialist socieity in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in close and fraternal cooperation with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. The BCP is the organizer of the process of perfecting socialist democracy and expanding the working people's participation in public adminstration.

In conformity with the principles of people's sovereignty laid down in the constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the people are the source and the subject of state power. The citizens are implementing state power directly or through freely elected representative organs.

The citizens are participating in legislative activities and in resolving other questions of an all-state character through referendums and plebiscites. All the most important questions, including the socialist Constitution of Bulgaria, adopted in 1971, have been settled by means of direct democracy.

The working people are actively particpating in economic management. The economic mechanism grants a number of jurisdictions to organs and public organizations through which the working people are actively influencing economic development.

The ideal of progressive philosophers and thinkers from ancient times to our own -- beginning with Plato and Aristotle, to Marx, Engels, and Lenin -- has become reality under socialism because socialist democracy is transforming the citizens' freedom, in the form of participation in public administration, into a vital prerequisite for its own existence and development. The participation of working people in public administration is the source of strength of the socialist state.

BRIEFS

DZHUROV AT ARMY CELEBRATION -- A festive meeting with mothers of young soldiers from Sofia was held at the Palace of Culture today. The meeting was organized by the Ministry of National Defense and the People's Army Main Political Administration. The meeting was attended by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense. Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military Department; military attaches from socialist countries, as well as by Lt Gen Alberto Chipande, minister of national defense of Mozambique who is presently visiting our country. The greeting message was read by Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, deputy minister of defense and chief of staff of the People's Army. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 81 AU]

CPCZ PRESIDIUM REPORT ON AGRICULTURE PUBLISHED

AU020705 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Oct 81 pp 3, 4

[CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Report on Tasks of the Development of Agriculture and Nutrition, delivered by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Pitra at the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in Prague on 28 October 1981]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the period which has elapsed since the 16th congress is characterized by a great drive by the party and people for implementing the congress conclusions in all spheres of social and economic life. Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, we are taking part in the historical struggle by the world's peace-loving forces for thwarting the dangerous, aggressive plans of world imperialism, headed by the United States of America. By their everyday work and attitudes, our working people show that they are fully aware of the inseparable connection between the struggle aimed at maintaining world peace and the realization of the objectives we have set ourselves, and that they are determined to exert all their energy to reach them.

Already at the 16th congress it was said that the further development of our society will take place in more demanding internal and external conditions. Developments fully confirm the correctness of this conclusion: the limited character of fuel and energy raw materials and other resources, the need for fundamental measures in the interest of improving the balance of payments, and deviations in the fulfillment of this year's plan in industry and agriculture -- all this indicates the need for a greater degree of mobilization of forces of the party and society in order to overcome existing difficulties and to fulfill the congress line.

In the spirit of a determined drive to fulfill the congress resolutions, today's Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum has met to examine the tasks and prerequisites for the development of agriculture in the conditions which have arisen. Putting this problem on the Central Committee's agenda is evidence of the constant attention which the party pays to this important branch of the national economy, which has an irreplaceable importance both for satisfying the people's needs and for mastering external economic conditions.

The 16th congress assessed the results and generalized the experience which we gain in the efforts to fulfill the strategic line of increasing self-sufficiency in the production of food determined by the 15th congress, and adapted this line for the conditions of the eighties. The foundations for this procedure were the conclusions of the 13th session of the Central Committee in 1979, which the congress affirmed. In the CPCZ Central Committee report, delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th congress, it was explicitly said: "It is going to be increasingly difficult and increasingly more demanding on foreign currency to import agricultural products and foodstuffs." The conclusion arising from this fact is unequivocal: When it comes to ensuring the consumption of food, we cannot do it by pursuing and increasing imports, but by a determined and energetic effort to develop our own agricultural production.

Life itself has affirmed and continues to affirm the correctness and necessity of this line. This also forces us to speed up its implementation. Food is becoming an increasingly important and political instrument in world policy. In the hands of imperialist states it is misused for political blackmail and pressure. Securing food for the population must therefore be based on domestic production, and it is also necessary to create gradually the necessary reserves in case of a poor harvest.

Advance Sector of the National Economy

Comrades, the purpose of the Communist Party policy is to constantly improve the material and cultural conditions for an all-round development of society.

To what extent this fundamental goal will be achieved depends on the creation of the necessary resources and on the initiative and activity of the working people.

The party has always proceeded from the principle that without a prospering socialist agriculture, a harmonious development of the national economy and a growth of the people's living standards is not possible. Its agricultural policy has gained high authority and the full support of the working people. The realization of Lenin's cooperative plan and the successful development of socialist construction. The Czechoslovak experience fully confirms the constant international validity of the truth that the socialist transformation of the countryside is one of the basic prerequisites for the stability and development of socialist society.

Thanks to the constant care of the CPCZ, the support of the entire socialist society and the great initiatives of the people working in agriculture, basic qualitative changes have occurred in this sector. With the development of large-scale production, the status of farmers in our society and the whole life of the countryside have changed from the very foundations. Particularly after the 14th CPCZ Congress, which paid extraordinary attention to the development of agriculture and determined its tasks in the stage of an advanced socialist society, agriculture, as well as our countryside, has made marked progress. This is attested to by the strengthening of socialist production relations in agriculture, by the strengthening of the ties between workers and farmers, by the overall upsurge of the production-technical base of agricultural production and by the results achieved. Socialist agriculture is today an advanced sector of our national economy. It has an efficient production-technical potential at its disposal. It has selfless workers and well trained -- professionally and politically -- management cadres. It has the necessary prerequisites and good prospects for further development.

In the past 10 years, the average annual growth rate of agricultural production has been 2.3 percent. This growth is 0.6 percent faster than in the preceding 20 years. The development of grain production has been particularly rapid. In 1966-70, the average annual grain production was less than 7 million tons, with a per-hectare-yield of 2.71 tons. In 1976-80, it was already 10.1 million tons, with a per-hectare-yield of 3.84 tons. Scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union, and especially the high-yield strains of Soviet wheat, play a great role in the successes of our grain-growing sector. An upswing, although not so marked, has been achieved also in some other branches of plant production. The development of livestock production, too, has been rapid. However, this was based in part on imports of fodder. The growth of livestock production, despite the drop in natural consumption [as published], made it possible to increase markedly the consumption of food of animal origin, particularly meat. In 1970 the per capita consumption amounted to 72 kilograms; last year it was already 85.6 kilograms per annum. The yearly consumption of milk and milk products was almost 233 kilograms, the consumption of butter 8 kilograms, and eggs 316. Thus we belong to states with the highest consumption of these foods.

In this period, the material-technical base of agriculture was significantly reinforced. The volume of investment in the past 10 years constitutes Kcs134 billion. The supplying of workers with basic assets more than doubled. That, together with the application of scientific-technical findings, made it possible to increase labor productivity by more than one half. Agriculture ensures its tasks with an ever smaller number of workers. Since 1970, their number dropped by more than one-fifth and, on the other hand, their qualifications were significantly improved. At present, 156,000 persons with secondary school or university-level education are working in agriculture.

Our party and socialist society value the work of farmers; they see to it that there is a constant improvement in farmers' living standards. The crucial improvement in the position and social guarantees of cooperative farmers occurred with the proposal and on the basis of the cpcz Central Committee decision of April 1975, by applying to the full extent the social and retirement accomplishments valid for people working in the national economy to cooperative farmers also.

In the past years, with significant assistance from the state, a total of 116,700 housing units of various types have been built for farmers. Almost 80 percent of the housing assets in the countryside were modernized or reconstructed. A census of the population and housing revealed that today there is practically no difference in the equipment of urban and rural households. In villages hundreds of kindergartens, baby-sitting and cultural facilities, as well as modern shopping centers, were built by citizens in the Z-action [community self-help]. With full justification, we can say that in our country a significant target of socialism has, in essence, been resolved -- bridging the gap between the living standards and way of life in towns and villages.

Comrades, alongside these positive developments -- as the 16th congress already noted -- the fact that in agriculture there exist a number of shortcomings, untapped resources and potential must not be overlooked. To them, the words of Comrade Gustav Husak voiced at the 14th Central Committee Plenum fully apply, that "our economy can produce more than it does." Yes, our socialist agriculture possesses the prerequisites, combined with a better utilization of the existing possibilities, for greater production. This is borne out by the dozens of agricultural enterprises which have for years been achieving truly outstanding results in the overall level of management and in individual branches of livestock and plant production.

For example, the United Farmers Cooperative [JZD] Luc na Ostrove, Dunajska Streda district, achieved in the Sixth 5-Year Plan an average of 6.53 tons of grain per hectare; the JZD Red October Rakvice, Breclav district, 5.83 tons; and the JZD Basnice, Jicin district, harvested in the preceding 5 years an average of 49.2 tons of sugar beets per hectare. The JZD Blucina, Brno-Environs district, achieved on the average more than 3 tons of rape. The JZD Quality Velka Losenice, Zdar nad Sazavou district, achieved the biggest potato yield in the Sixth 5-Year Plan -- 31.2 tons.

The PZD Peace in Chelcice, Strakonice district, achieved during the 5-year plan an average 7.9 tons of hay from meadows. In animal production in the past 5-year plan, the JZD Senkvice in the Bratislava-Environs district, achieved an average milk-yield of amost 5,100 liters per annum. In a similar vein, it would be possible to name other enterprises which are systematically achieving excellent results, even in less favorable natural conditions. For example, the JZD Micina, in the difficult conditions of the Banska Bystrica district, has been constantly achieving a yield of more than 6 tons of hay from meadows. The JZD Nekor in the Usti nad Orlici district achieved in the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan an average annual yield of 3,815 liters, and today it produces almost 1,800 liters of milk per hectare of agricultural land.

We enumerate these top results -- in addition to expressing the appreciation of the work of these collectives -- in order to show the potential of our socialist agriculture. Its full utilization is contingent -- apart from the necessary intensification input -- upon full exploitation of domestic resources. These exist in every agricultural enterprise and in every branch of agricultural production. It is necessary everywhere to expose and eliminate losses in the harvest, production and storage, and to declare an effective struggle against the waste of fodder, fuels, energy, manpower and people's good ideas. To do this, it is necessary to make full use of the great advantages of socialism, which are in the possibility to enroll in this effort great active forces, such as the initiative and enlightenment of the working people.

Great untapped potential still exists in enterprises which, on the level of management, lag behind the average results of a group of enterprises operating in comparable conditions. The elimination of the causes of their lagging behind, which primarily lay in subjective factors, is still proceeding very slowly. A significant role in that is played by indecisiveness and inconsistence in cadre work, especially of the managing agricultural agencies, but also of many district committees and primary party organizations. At the same time the raising of management standards in these enterprises to the level of comparable groups could bring in annually approximately Kcs2-3 billion of gross agricultural production.

The primary duty of the managing state and economic agencies, but especially the cause of social responsibility of farmers themselves and of those who are today taking part in the production of food in other branches, is to do much more than up to now for the maximum utilization of all possibilities and reserves which we have in our agriculture.

Primary task: Rationalization of Fodder Consumption

Comrades, in the Seventh 5-Year Plan we will ensure the increment of agricultural production with reduced farmland and reduced manpower, with considerably lower grain imports and lower increments of industrial fertilizers. It will also be impossible to count on an increase in capital investment means in comparison with the previous 5-year plans. It is all the more important to implement consistently the course of intensifying agriculture and mobilizing domestic resources. Already the 13th Central Committee plenum in 1979 specified the manner in which this was to be accomplished. The Central Committee Presidium carried out a comprehensive check of their implementation in connection with preparations for the 16th congress, and the results of the check are a part of the base [podkladove] materials which we have received. Farmers identified with the conclusions of that session and began to implement them gradually. In that respect the majority of the JZDS and state farms exerted a lot of effort which, no doubt, deserves appreciation. Although some positive results have been achieved in individual branches of agricultural production, success has still not been evident in achieving the necessary change, especially in implementing the main strategic targets. Concentrated attention on the solution of the longstanding disproportions between the development of plant and animal production as the basic prerequisite for raising self-sufficiency has not yet brought forth results corresponding to our possibilities and needs. Progress in implementing the necessary structural changes in livestock production has been slow. Although the overall number of cattle increased and the decline in the number of cows was halted during the past 2 years, the disproportionate increases in the number of pigs continued. The results in the reproduction of farm [hospodarske] animals have improved, but we have not been successful in fully ensuring the targets regarding their utility value.

As for the current year, despite the considerable efforts by farmers, in the case of most crops the production envisaged by the plan will not be achieved. The nonfulfillment of tasks applies especially to the production of grain, which will be some 1.6 million tons less than planned. Grain and grain products needed to feed the population are fully secured, but the lower harvest will have an impact on the livestock production base. The harvest results were unquestionably influenced by the unfavorable weather conditions, which affected the individual parts of the republic very differently. This was manifested most markedly in our most important grain-growing regions -- in the West Slovakia and South Moravia regions. But not everything can be explained by the weather. In this year's complicated conditions the nonobservance of agrotechnical schedules and other deviations in growth technology were revealed negatively -- and more markedly than in previous years. Lower yields in some regions were also unfavorably influenced by nonobservance of the sown acreage. This is not the first time a considerable shortfall in grain production, in comparison with an extraordinarily demanding plan totalling 11,060,000 tons which at present constitutes the upper limit of our possibilities and envisages optimal weather conditions, has been recorded. A similar situation also had to be resolved in the previous 5-year period when, in order to ensure livestock production, especially meat, we imported on the average more than 1.5 million tons of grain per annum, mostly from the capitalist states. The increased discriminatory policy of the capitalist countries, the considerable aggravation of crisis phenomena, the changes in financial and credit conditions on the capitalist markets and other factors do not allow us to continue in this way. In no case can additional resources be counted on until the next harvest. We must manage things in such a way as to ensure that everything we have produced and everything we obtain in this manner covers our needs.

Because of the drop in grain production and lower fodder imports, a rapid and substantial reduction of the excessive number of pigs and to some extent also of sows will be required. At the moment the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and agricultural administrations are tackling this inevitable task virtually with indolence. No one must rely on the previous practice being repeated when production shortfalls were always resolved by means of additional imports and allocations from the central fodder fund. Such incorrect and harmful views and ideas must be combated resolutely.

The situation which arose this year in the sphere of fodder stocks requires the further acceleration of the efforts by the people working in agriculture, and wherever necessary the help, as well, of the rest of the citizens to harvest speedily everything that still remains in the fields. This year, more than ever before, it is important to harvest with minimum losses virtually every acre of corn, sugar beets, potatoes and fodder crops, and to organize systematically going once more over the potato and sugar beets fields, thus saving values which in previous years were wasted in many enterprises. The principle must be applied everywhere that the solution of the fodder base does not concern solely the production of fodder, but that reducing losses and high-quality conservation and storage are equally important. Experience shows that with increased attention and care, precisely here there are reserves that can be mobilized the fastest.

In every agricultural enterprise, district or region thorough consideration must be given to ways and means of obtaining the earliest possible high-quality fodder, and of substantially improving the structure of the whole fodder base. Great and demanding criteria must govern the strict utilization of fodder everywhere.

One must not remain satisfied with the mandatory outlines [ramcovy zavazny rezim] issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. We demand that every agricultural establishment work out a program of concrete rationalization measures specifying individual responsibilities with the aim of reducing the consumption of grain fodder per production unit, and ensure the feeding of animals until the next harvest. The managing agricultural agencies and organizations providing biological services, especially the centers of controlled nutrition, must to a significant degree participate in the program's elaboration, and then in implementing and controlling it. The consistent fulfillment of this program must come under a systematic party control.

The managing agricultural agencies are sufficiently acquainted with ways to conserve fodder. Our scientific research base also provides a number of concrete recommendations for agricultural practice. The possibilities in this respect are attested to by the results achieved by many agricultural enterprises, such as JZD Builder [Budovatel] in Kasejovice in the Plzen-South district, by the JZD of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Havilockovo Borove in the Havlickuv Brod district, and by dozens of other enterprises in which they are carrying out effective measures aimed at improving their fodder base and at rational utilization of fodder.

For example, one must not postpone transferring to wet feeding in pig fattening, which yields considerable saving of grain fodder. Management work, including purposeful limiting of deliveries and consumption of fodder grains and the production of fodder mixtures, must make use of all these possibilities. Last year we had 22 districts in which the consumption of grain fodder exceeded 4 kilograms to produce 1 kilogram of meat. At the same time we have a number of districts which managed on 3.6 kilograms. Reducing the consumption of grain fodder to that level would save us more than 100,000 kg of grain fodder a year. Marked differences in consumption between regions and districts also exist as to other animal products. Management bodies on all levels must analyze more profoundly these differences and, especially, solve them faster. Better than up to now, they must popularize positive experience and must, above all, use management work and also the plan and further management instruments to apply stronger pressure to eliminate cases of uneconomical husbandry [nehospodarnost] and waste.

We cannot hesitate to reduce insufficiently effective pig raising which consumes too much fodder. Our society is not in a position to afford raising pigs for slaughter consuming considerably more than 4 kilograms of grain to gain 1 kilogram of weight. The solution of this situation, for example, was correctly approached by the comrades in the South Moravia Region, where already in the course of the third quarter they abolished 80 pig-raising establishments, in which grain fodder was used irrationally.

As to cattle raising, it is necessary to proceed from the existing situation and organize its transfers in accordance with the sources of fodder.

The Central Committee demands from communists in leading positions, when implementing these measures, that they consistently take into account aspects concerning the whole of society, and refuse to tolerate incorrect local demands. A high degree of responsibility, consistency, efficiency and everyday work with people is necessary at all levels. Improved care for animals is the foundation for ensuring their planned utility value, the desired reproduction indexes, reducing losses caused by death, and last but not least, reducing the consumption of fodder. Therefore it is necessary in all agricultural enterprises to demand better observance of the work and technological disciplines. We cannot permit, for example, that shortcomings in the care of animals be "made up" by exceeding the prescribed portions of fodder, especially of grain fodder.

We are convinced that our cooperative farmers and the employees of state farms will show understanding for the needs of society and will show selflessness and responsibility in their work. The organizers of agricultural production must create the necessary conditions for the increased efforts of the working people to yield the desired effect.

The socialist agricultural enterprises play and will always continue to play a decisive role in ensuring the nutrition of the people. For example, these enterprises cover more than 90 percent of the overall meat consumption, 90 percent of the milk consumption and almost 100 percent of the consumption of flour and flour products. Yet experience shows that in the past years we have failed to appreciate fully the role which a more perfect utilization of the production potential of small private plot owners, small animal breeders and cultivators can play in our endeavor to utilize all agricultural land for the production of foodstuffs.

That is why the central agencies have adopted lately a number of measures to promote this activity. It was decided to promote production on private plots and oppose trends aiming at their abolition. A contractual form of fattening farm animals has been introduced. Land unsuitable for socialist agricultural large-scale production can be given for use not only to special interest organizations, but also to other citizens for agricultural utilization. The government has also adopted concrete measures aimed at further improving the material and other conditions for socially useful activity. The tax on the income from this activity was abolished. Some of the earlier adopted measures have yielded positive results already. Through the contractual form of fattening alone we have gained 12,370 tons of cattle for slaughter since the beginning of the year. But this does not exhaust all the possibilities by far. The main obstacle is the varying approaches in individual regions and districts of the republic. Many functionaries of agricultural enterprises, National Committees and party organization have still not grasped and still do not appreciate the importance of this matter, and approach it incorrectly. This must change categorically.

The Central Committee expects National Committees, agricultural agencies and organizations of the National Front, JZDS and state farms to engage in effective organizational and explanatory work aimed at utilizing all agricultural land in support of cattle raising, fruit and vegetable growing and other crops on private, small plots of land, or on small and still idle plots. We must proceed from the assumption that this is a meritorious work of benefit to society, and -- of course -- to the breeders and cultivators themselves.

The Necessary Prerequisites for Greater Degree of Thriftiness

Comrades, the measures which are being adopted in the sphere of animal production create the necessary prerequisites -- even with the existing problems -- for the nutrition of the people and supplies to be adequately ensured. But as for meat, this will be an exceptionally demanding task next year. The mobilization of all potential in agriculture will primarily determine to what extent it will be mastered. The processing industry, too, cannot be left by the wayside when seeking solutions. The meat industry must raise its efforts when it comes to making the most of all types of meat, and expand its portioning [as published] and packaging. It is further necessary to deepen the measures aimed at a comprehensive utilization of all raw materials, including the nontraditional ones -- measures which were being implemented already last year. After all, in this manner in the first half of this year alone we gained 4,000 more tons of meat. The meat industry's ranking personnel, knowing the situation in the individual agricultural enterprises, must organize the procurement of animals for slaughter more efficiently than has been the case until now. Also, the organizations of domestic trade and of public catering must -- by influencing customers during sales and through a suitable structure of meals -- contribute to thriftiness in consumption and preventing waste. In educational and propaganda work, but also through other instruments, it is necessary to make each citizen aware of the value of foodstuffs, so that he appreciates them and uses them in a sensible manner.

Comrades, coming to terms with the limited fuel and energy resources is a serious task facing the whole national economy today. In agriculture, far better use must be made especially of oil products and of the other types of energy. This demand is all the more pressing since agriculture consumes more than 25 percent of the overall volume of motor diesel oil and almost one-third of light heating oils. Also here, covering the needs cannot be solved by additional imports. In the interest of increasing the economic pressure on thriftiness, it was necessary to correspondingly adjust the prices of some oil products. The impact of these adjustments on agriculture will be to a considerable degree outweighed by higher procurement prices. A part of the costs will have to be saved.

Therefore, the categorical demand to accelerate substantially the process of rationalizing consumption of fuel and energy throughout the economy demands a new and more challenging approach in agriculture as well. From this viewpoint it is necessary, for example, to reassess the program of drying fodder by hot air. Only production of dried fodder from top quality fodder crops, that can be used as a protein component in fodder mixtures, can be acceptable. Similarly, we can not count on the production of pullet feed to the same extent as heretofore. The utilization of nontraditional means such as solar collectors, waste heat, biogas and other specific opportunities provided by agriculture, too, is a way toward conserving energy and particularly fuels.

Opportunities for saving fuels also rest in a more efficient organization of work processes in plant production -- in eliminating needless transfers of machinery, in expediently combining individual work operations and so forth. We must also substantially improve maintenance of and care for machinery. The gradual optimalization of the ration between tractor and automobile transportation is a fundamental measure aimed at reducing fuel consumption. That is why it is important that our engineering should do everything it can to meet the target set by the 16th congress -- to supply agriculture in the Seventh 5-Year Plan with the set number of trucks adjusted for agricultural purposes. This would be a specific way to save roughly 100,000 tons of diesel oil annually plus several thousand laborers. A marked reduction of agriculture's demand for fuels is further linked with a gradual renewal of the machinery and tractor pool, and with providing functional implements and technology enabling a maximum utilization of the machines' tractive power.

The innovation of agricultural machinery, too, must to a greater degree than heretofore help to reduce fuel consumption as much as possible per production unit. We must rigidly require keeping records of fuel stocks and fuel consumption and enhance even more the tractor drivers', maintenance engineers' and ranking personnel's material interest in savings in this sector.

We must take full account of all aspects concerning savings of fuels and energy resources when solving all questions of agricultural organization. We must insist emphatically on a consistent observance of the conclusion reached by the 16th congress that the present size of agricultural enterprises corresponds to the present state of the development of production forces, and resolutely resist all tendencies seeking their further enlargement. Also, when making decisions on concentrating individual production sectors, it is necessary to take into greater account the resulting demand for fuel consumption, the costs involving the transportation of fodder and manure, the availability of grazing land and so forth. We certainly can no longer permit, not even in the form of so-called experiments, the construction of new facilities with an excessive concentration of livestock.

The necessity to achieve marked savings of fuels and energy requires that we work out, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the present state of affairs, and consistently implement in every agricultural enterprise a comprehensive program of rationalization measures, and make it a matter of the working people's concern.

Making Efficient Use of Existing Resources

Comrades, the results we have achieved in developing agriculture and the new facts to which we must find a more effective response create exacting conditions for implementing the line of self-sufficiency. Nothing is being changed in terms of the basic directions of agricultural policy nor in terms of the priorities we have set ourselves. What is needed is to exert even greater and more concentrated endeavors to assert this line. The task of more energetically implementing the demand outlined by the 16th congress -- the transition of the economy onto a path of intensive development, high effectiveness and cost efficiency -- faces agriculture with the utmost urgency. This means a firm orientation on maximum savings, desirable structural changes, utilization of scientific and technical progress and more efficient capital investment. The overall situation of the national economy will evidently influence the timetable for implementing some of the adopted concepts and plans. The care devoted to the utmost utilization of everything that is available must be all the greater.

The care of the whole of society, above all farmers, for the protection and utilization of the land stock must take the highest priority. Comrade Gustav Husak's words at the 16th congress that "the protection of every acre of land and the prevention of any waste of it is in the vital interest of the entire society" are more urgent today than ever before. Responsible officals from regions and districts must not permit a repetition of the situation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan when the land stock decreased by 173,000 hectares of agricultural land. Even though order was being introduced into the keeping of records of the land stock at that time, this decrease -- which is equivalent roughly to the area of two districts -- is unacceptable. Considering that there is 0.44 hectares of agricultural land per capita in our country, this represents an area whose production could feed almost 400,000 people. The CPCZ Central Committee makes communists -- in National Committees and state and economic bodies at all levels -- responsible for refusing to tolerate any further unjustified losses of land, and for strictly observing -- with all the relevant sanctions against culprits -- the law on the protection of the agricultural land stock. This is also the purpose of the measures aimed at tightening the control of the land stock which the federal government adopted on the basis of an investigation of the CSSR People's Control Committee.

For example, in the future land will be made available for capital investment only when the investor recultivates at his own expense agriculturally hitherto unused land of at least the same size. Levies on the withdrawal of land will be increased, and the territorial plans of cities and housing settlements will be reexamined. In the interest of a rigid control of the land stock, it will be necessary to reassess and improve the appropriate norms and technical-economic indexes of construction projects. Rigid control will also fully apply to the ranking personnel of agricultural enterprises. They, above all, must see to the most intensive utilization of the acreage entrusted to them and to a systematic increase of yields.

To accelerate the intensification process in agriculture, and in the interest of better utilizing inputs and increasing yields, it is necessary that agriculture receive more, and more quickly, good biological material, highly productive hybrids and results of breeding work, as well as recommendations on how to improve production under the conditions of large-scale economic entities. We are not so rich that we can afford to waste the land stock only because in a number of instances we are using low quality seeds and seedlings that do not guarantee high and stable yields. That is why it is so urgent that the quality of the work of the scientific, research and development bases and of organizations providing biological services be substantially improved. Despite some positive results in the area of cereal crops, in the production of oleaginous crops, in veterinary medicine, genetic research and breeding work, including the contribution of economic research to the improvement of the system of management, the overall effect still does not correspond to the needs. What we are interested in are not merely methodological recommendations but practical participation and assistance in consistently applying scientific and technical findings in practice.

The quality of the management of the scientific and research base of the sector must be substantially improved. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food must increase its demands on the activity of research institutions and pay greater attention to improving the quality of their cadres. The scientific and research base must concentrate its efforts and funds far more than up to now on those fields which are decisive for the solution of the present and future tasks. It is also necessary to improve gradually the material and technical background of research work, and to intensify the coordinating activity of the federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food. Next to the scientific and research base of the agricultural sector, also the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and the research bases of universities and other sectors that are connected with nutrition must exert maximum efforts to solve the key tasks of ensuring people's nutrition. We must make far more effective use than up to now of international division of labor within the CEMA framework. Substantially greater attention must be devoted to new scientific fields such as the development of modern biotechnologies, which open the path to fundamental structural changes in agricultural production and provide a number of other opportunities for application in the food industry.

To be able to master successfully the exacting tasks of people's nutrition, it is necessary -- despite the overall difficulties in the national economy -- to ensure the essential material and technical prerequisites for the development of agriculture. Recently the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Federal Government adopted some fundamental conceptual measures in this area. This concerns especially the program of livestock production's chemicalization [chemizace] and biochemicalization [biochemizace], which responds to the urgent requirement to ensure domestically produced protein components, biofactors and agents for the medication [medikace] of livestock nutrition. A consistent implementation of those measures will significantly affect the utilization of fodder and will reduce our dependence on imports. The protein program that has been adopted and which contains specific tasks both for the supply sectors and for agriculture itself pursues basically the same goal.

No less important is also the package of measures adopted to ensure plant production from the viewpoint of sustaining and protecting plants in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. This program stipulates not only the tasks regarding supplies of industrial fertilizer and agents for protecting and stimulating the growth of crops, but also focuses on their better utilization, on tapping the hidden potentials in agriculture. In view of the present use of fertilizer, it will be necessary to seek additional possibilities to ensure lime-containing materials, including the utilization of local resources. Organic fertilizer -- the production and utilization of manure -- also requires greater care. With this in mind, it will be necessary also to consider bedding-free forms of stabling cattle. Both agricultural and agrochemical enterprises must devote substantially greater attention to organic fertilizers.

Of great importance for effective utilization of good quality biological materials that help to limit the still disproportionately high losses is furnishing agriculture with the necessary machinery and equipment. We want to stress once again the coresponsibility of engineering for consistent implementation of the line mapped out by the 16th congress regarding the needs of agriculture. It is necessary to express appreciation for the fact that recently some supply enterprises adopted specific measures to better satisfy agriculture's needs, some of which are already beginning to be implemented.

In keeping with the conclusions of the 16th congress, the production and technological base of agricultural engineering will be reinforced from 1 January next year when a new economic production unit will be established for this branch. We expect this economic production unit gradually to develop and expand its production base and thereby to begin gradually to solve -- in close cooperation with agricultural enterprises, machine-tractor stations and other engineering establishments -- long-term problems, including spare parts, which are the target of justified criticism among our farmers. It was also decided to solve next year the expansion and arrangement of the production and technical base securing machinery and equipment for the food industry. It transpires from all this that the Central Committee Presidium and the government are adopting measures gradually to resolve the urgent needs concerning material and technical supplies for agriculture.

No less important is it to intensify cooperation within the agricultural-food industry complex, between primary agricultural production and the food industry, with the aim of ensuring that all that ripens is harvested with minimal losses, properly stored and well processed. Proceeding from the demand for efficiently processing and utilizing the entire production and limiting losses of all kinds, we must ensure on a priority basis in the Seventh 5-Year Plan the necessary storage and industrial facilities.

However, what must be achieved in the first place, comrades, is that the agricultural enterprises themselves -- in accordance with their production conditions and with the latest agronomical and zootechnical findings -- utilize with maximum efficiency all the funds they receive and all their possibilities, and that they fully muster all the internal untapped potentials of agriculture, which exist above all in the effectiveness of managerial and organizational work from top to bottom.

Pressure on cost efficiency and quality is being applied only very slowly and with inadequate results throughout the management hierarchy. In a number of agricultural enterprises the system of remuneration is not sufficiently effective, technological discipline is low, and the system of supervision is inadequate, with many inconsistencies. The words of Comrade Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress are valid also for our agriculture: "...a seemingly plain and everyday matter is becoming the backbone of economic policy -- economical attitude to social property and the art of fully and expediently utilizing everything that we have. That is the direction in which we must orient the work collectives' initiative and mass party work."

That is why it is necessary in ensuring the conclusions of today's Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum to analyze thoroughly everywhere those subjective shortcomings and their causes and, primarily, speedily and energetically to rectify them.

Great Untapped Potential in Agriculture

The need to speed up the dynamics of agricultural development, especially to ensure priority promotion of plant production and cattle breeding, also requires fundamental steps in the planned management system. The present system, which has been in force essentially since 1967, has contributed significantly to the development of agriculture. In the course of the years a number of adjustments were carried out to enhance its effectiveness. Party bodies have been paying systematic attention to its impact. Evidence of this are the sessions of the party Central Committee, especially those of October 1975 and March 1979. This fact is also borne out by the adjustments of economic instruments carried out in the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and on entering the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The exacting conditions with which we must come to terms at the threshold of the eighties require that we approach further measures, measures of a more fundamental nature.

An analysis of the development so far, especially in the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, has shown that, just as in other branches, also in agriculture, outdated extensive approaches have been predominant. Frequently, excessive demands are being placed on material inputs to ensure production. On the other hand, there are considerable reserves in the expedient and efficient utilization of those inputs. Even the price adjustments that have been carried out so far and whose purpose was to encourage enterprises to effect structural changes in production, especially to intensify cattle breeding, have not yielded the needed results so far. The trend of production of pork and poultry developing at a faster rate [than beef production] continued, basically, throughout the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The utilization of meadows and pastures and of fodder crops grown on arable land has remained at a low level.

The realistic needs and possibilities of the economy, coupled with the situation on world markets, face us with the categoric demand to ensure a further growth of agricultural production while reducing demand for fodder imports, and to develop livestock production in a structure for which we will create, by increasing plant production, the necessary fodder base. It is thus our task, in keeping with the conclusions of the 16th congress, to place -- next to a further intensification of the production of cereal crops -- substantially greater emphasis on the full utilization of all our potential regarding the production of bulk fodder and cattle breeding. This is the greatest untapped resource of our agriculture -- it lies both in the utilization of the land stock and in the utilization of the livestock potential. We are aware that this orientation places greater demands on both managerial and organizational work, and manpower and material costs. Moreover, this is a branch in which scientific and technical progress and the building of the material and technical base have not yet achieved a standard that would be necessary from the viewpoint of the needs of large-scale production. However, it is a path that ensues from our condition. Even though we know that its implementation will require time and considerable efforts, one must not postpone the steps that must be taken in this direction.

Draft of the Improved System of Management

Comrades, in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th congress, a draft of an improved system of planned management in agriculture is being submitted today.

In drawing it up, we proceeded not only from our own experience but also from the findings of other fraternal socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

The basic concept of the draft proceeds from the same political-ideological and national economic points of departure as the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy. It applies the Set of Measures to agriculture, taking into account its technical-biological and socioeconomic special features.

What is the primary aim of the measures which the Presidium submits to you for assessment?

First, the aim is to improve the state management of agriculture by improving plan preparation, economic instruments, the system of material incentives and, above all, the concrete managerial, political and organizational activities in the interest of ensuring a stable upward development of agriculture. What is involved at the same time is the creation of the essential specific prerequisites for this.

Second, the aim is -- besides reinforcing the role of the plan -- to create greater scope for the activity and initiative of agricultural enterprises and their employees with the aim of making more effective use of all production factors and untapped potentials for a further effective intensification of production. What is thus involved is an active application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Third, the aim is to link more effectively the interest and responsibility of all branches which participate in ensuring food for the population; and to deepen and link the agricultural enterprises' and the food industry's interest in and responsibility for the production of the necessary quantity of good quality raw material and its most effective utilization.

Fourth, the aim is to create conditions for a more systematic, speedier and more comprehensive application of scientific and technical progress. This requires that we improve and accelerate the system of introducing scientific and technical findings into agricultural practice through services, and supply and customer organizations.

Fifth, the aim is that the system of management should stimulate to a greater extent the development of plant production and cattle breeding, and a correct deployment, concentration and specialization of agricultural production, and thereby simultaneously limit the effect of the differential rent [differencialni renta]. The system, but also concrete managerial activity, must be more helpful than before in overcoming unjustified differences in the economic performance of individual enterprises while substantially enhancing the enterprise collectives' responsibility for the creation of their own resources for expanded reproduction.

Sixth, in remuneration for work and in satisfying the needs of the work collectives and individuals, the criteria of quality, final results and commitment in seeking and utilizing untapped potential should increasingly gain ground. In the entire system of material incentives, the socialist principles of remuneration on the basis of the quantity and quality of work and the achieved results should be increasingly asserted.

In short, from each acre of land, from each animal, from every koruna spent on investment projects and wages, from each kilogram of fertilizer and fodder and from each unit of consumed energy -- that means, with minimal costs -- we want to produce the greatest possible amount of good quality products.

New Planning Method

We consider as decisive a further deepening and strengthening of the directing function of the plan. We have acquired sufficient experience and findings to know that this function can be fulfilled only by a mobilization plan but which, in its material proportions, is balanced and based on progressive norms and calculations of sums of capacities [bilancne kapacitni propocty] -- a plan which, in setting tasks, takes into account the implications of agricultural production's dependence on the influence of weather conditions. Such a plan effectively mobilizes people to use untapped potentials and to achieve a growth of intensity and efficiency.

The demand of the 16th congress -- to update and make more objective norms of all kinds, especially norms governing the consumption of materials, power and fuels and performance norms -- is valid also for agriculture. Objective norms and consistent pressure on making their application binding must become an important instrument for improving the quality of the plan and making it realistic, as well as for tapping all unused resources. The systematic improvement of norm-setting activity, proceeding from the existing scientific and technical findings and their introduction into agricultural practice, is one of the most important prerequisites for good plan-based management. Linked with the effort gradually and purposefully to assert norms in the broadest sense of the word, including technical norms regulating the cultivation of individual crops and livestock, must be the system of material incentives.

Important changes will take place in planning the production and procurement of agricultural produce. In comparison with the present situation, the number of indicators of the state plan is being significantly reduced. The widening scope for initiative must be accompanied by an increased responsibility of agricultural enterprises and the supraordinated agricultural bodies for a plan-based safeguarding of all-social needs. Our cooperative and state farms represent today, as a whole, strong, internally stabilized socialist enterprises. The overwhelming majority of those work collectives are run by professionally and politically competent managers who are capable of bearing the necessary responsibility vis-a-vis society for the development of agricultural production and ensuring people's nutrition.

Therefore, we are convinced that the proposed changes will lead to a search for the best possible ways of a speedier and, above all, more effective development of agricultural production. Here, too, the words of the report on party activity submitted to the 16th congress are valid: that the plan cannot merely break down the tasks from top to bottom, but that it is the party's program in the socioeconomic sphere; that it is a law but at the same time an important instrument for mobilizing the working people. Its fulfillment must be the innermost concern of the broad collective of working people.

The new method of planning will place considerably higher demands on all supraenterprise elements of the state and economic management which, through their conceptual activity, by creating material conditions, through the system of economic instruments and material incentives, but also through direct managerial and organizational work, must coordinate the activities of enterprises toward ensuring all-social interests and needs. The managerial agricultural bodies must also proceed from the demand for the full satisfaction of those interests and needs when assessing and approving the agricultural enterprises' production and financial plans. Especially in 1982 when agriculture will in many respects develop under very exacting conditions, it will be necessary to count on the enhanced role of the ministry's and agricultural administrations' direct managerial work.

The system will also exert the necessary pressure on consumer organizations. On the basis of contracts with agricultural enterprises and while making more effective use of economic incentives and regulations, they will have to ensure raw materials and products essential for the fulfillment of their plans. For this purpose they will be furnished gradually with the appropriate authority and necessary instruments. We want the food industry enterprises to become genuine protagonists of cooperation and integration with the enterprises of primary agricultural production.

The demand that the plan must be balanced and realistic is closely connected with the essential need for improving the linkages among the branches that take part in ensuring nutrition for the population. That follows from the high degree of agriculture's integration in the social division of labor. It is known, for example, that the present share of chemistry in the final value of agriculture's and the food industry's production is 14.5 percent, that of engineering 9.2 percent, that of the fuel and power industry 5.2 percent and so forth.

We are stressing these connections also in view of the experience we acquired in ensuring the tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, when precisely the insufficient linkage between the plan of agricultural production and material and technical supplies to it was unfavorably manifested.

The new, more exacting conditions also necessitate new approaches in planning. That is why the new principles stress the assertion of the principle of target programs and a comprehensive planning of the relations between supplier branches and agricultural production. This logically enhances the managerial role of central planning bodies and the ministries. Under the present complicated economic situation and considering the degree to which the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan are predetermined, it will not be easy in drawing up the details of the Seventh 5-Year Plan to solve all the problems concerning agricultural production's need for materials and technology. We anticipate that the most important of those needs will be dealt with gradually, in the individual years of the 5-year plan. The entire sphere of improving the planning of relations among different branches will have to be more intensively worked out so that it can be comprehensively implemented in preparing the long-term outlooks and medium-term plans.

In accordance with the critical recommendations and practical needs, the principles also pursue -- among other things -- the intention to eliminate the existing fragmentation of the supplier-consumer relations and to simplify the system of planning of agricultural equipment deliveries. In the sphere of the reproduction of basic assets, too, the planning system is being simplified and the independence and accountability of enterprises increased. An important measure in this respect is also the new categorization [kategorizace] of capital investment projects, which creates a broader framework for the possibilities of enterprises to realize programs making it possible to reduce losses in the quantity and quality of manufactured production, programs of modernization and reconstruction of the existing projects and finishing the construction of farms, as well as carrying out other measures aimed at rationalizing production. Of the managing agricultural agencies and agricultural enterprises, the Central Committee demands that they utilize the existing resources and investments as effectively as possible. Also, the newly introduced so-called special agricultural investments will fulfill an important function. They are to give an impetus for better utilization of one's own financial and material resources and construction capacities for useful intensification projects, which in most cases they can ensure with their own manpower and equipment.

More Fundamental Changes of Economic Instruments

Comrades, more fundamental changes in economic instruments are an indivisible part of measures to improve the system of planned management of agriculture. Their alterations aim at increasing the material interest of agricultural enterprises in the growth of production in a socially desirable structure, strengthening their economic independence and strengthening their orientation toward higher quality of agricultural products. The system takes into consideration the fact that especially in the years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, for objective as well as subjective reasons, the dynamism of the development of production slowed down, and as a result expenses disproportionately increased. This reduced its effectiveness, which was reflected in the enterprises' worsened income situation. Their profitability dropped to less than 7 percent in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Compared with the preceding 5-year period this is about one half. That weakened the role of prices when covering production costs of individual products and also reduced the interest of agricultural enterprises in the production of particularly those products on which they were losing money or on which they were making only minimum profit. Involved here were, in particular, products in which society is extraordinarily interested -- such as, for example, the production of beef or milk.

As in other countries with intensive agriculture, in our country also the cost of additional agricultural production is increasing. This trend is connected with compensating for the loss of agricultural land by intensification inputs and with their diminishing effectiveness. A role in this is played also by the changed structure of food production to the benefit of more costly-to-produce animal products. However, it would be a mistake to see the causes of these economic phenomena and their consequences only in factors whose influence is objective. The truth is -- and the experience, especially of leading enterprises, confirms this -- that a considerable part of cooperatives and state farms no longer master the increasingly demanding tasks of the intensive development of production. Above all, they are not implementing consistently enough the effective system of measures and material incentives aimed at an efficient deployment of manpower and increasingly costly resources. The way to counter the growth of production's demand for material and manpower and the disproportional growth of costs is, in the first place, in paying increased attention to the qualitative aspects of production. The struggle for a high degree of profitability must be waged by a concentrated effort for high intensity of production, high hectare yields of individual staples, high utility value of farm animals and minimum losses of every kind.

After assessing a number of options, a solution has been adopted which reinforces the role of prices in the overall payment of socially essential expenditure on the production of agricultural products. The increase in procurement prices to a large extent compensates farmers for the higher price of fuel, heating and lubricating oils, and also for certain energy-intensive materials and the higher price of fodder mixtures. This represents almost Kcs7 billion. In addition, the CPCZ Central Committee and the federal government have decided to increase by almost Kcs3 billion per annum the total compensation given to agricultural enterprises for their products from all-social funds. These resources are destined to strengthen the financial and economic position of agricultural enterprises, and to expand production in hitherto not very efficient and consequently neglected sectors. But they cannot and must under no circumstances compensate for a low standard of production caused by shortcomings in management, irresponsibility or poor work morale, which exist in some agricultural enterprises. Therefore we cannot permit the development in the sphere of costs to continue as in the previous years, and that the result of the adopted measures be thus wasted without manifesting itself in increased production and its greater effectiveness.

In the situation in which our economy is, and in which we must -- as good managers -- count every koruna spent in excess, this measure is the expression of the Communist Party's great care for the development of agriculture and ensuring nutrition for our working people.

We want to express the conviction that these measures will be accepted precisely in this manner by all our working people, and especially that the farmers themselves will comprehend them in this way and that they will further escalate their efforts to achieve better results in production and economy.

One of the key intentions of the measures is to limit unjustified differences in the profitability of production of individual products, and to give price supports to those sectors whose expansion is in the interest of the whole of society. Primary economic support will be given to the expansion of cattle raising. Precisely in this sector the existing low profitability and at the same time the high demand on technical material and manpower is one of the causes why we have not been successful in fulfilling the plans determined by the 16th congress for its expansion. For this reason the procurement prices for meat and milk will be increased by Kcs5 billion. After deducting the increased costs, this represents raising the price supports by Kcs3.2 billion. With this we want to achieve having the increased production of cattle for slaughter play an ever increasing role in the production of animals for slaughter, and the production of milk increased.

However, the improved economic conditions for expanding this key sector must be accompanied by a more intensive solution of practical problems including the fodder base, and by a consistent mobilization of useful domestic untapped potential. We count on the fact that the preferential price treatment given to cattle breeders will at the same time help to orient agricultural enterprises toward maximal utilization of meadows and pastures. Regarding plant production, the procurement prices are being increased for some material and manpower-intensive products, such as sugar beets, potatoes and similar staples.

In the procurement price policy, orientation toward higher quality products for the domestic market and export is also being intensified.

Bonuses are being introduced for increased turnover to act as a new instrument to stimulate greater market agriculture. Effective as of next year, they will be paid to all agricultural enterprises for increased turnover of agricultural products, compared with the average of the 3 previous years. The effectiveness of this instrument is increased by the fact that a part of the bonuses will be used for increasing the personal material interests of employees. We expect these bonuses to become an important impetus for all agricultural enterprises, but above all for cooperatives and state farms with lower production, in which there is the greatest potential for a higher pace of the growth of production and deliveries to the state funds.

The measures which are being carried out in the sphere of economic instruments are fairly extensive. They will significantly affect the economies of all agricultural enterprises. They proceed from the assumption that it is in the interest of the whole of society to create suitable conditions for the important agricultural sector. We know from experience how important it is -- economically and politically from the point of view of strengthening the ties between workers and farmers -- that agriculture operates in conditions enabling it, with a corresponding intensity of production, to create resources for expanded reproduction. This is one of the main prerequisites for ensuring a smooth supply of the people's nutrition.

Comrades, the need for stronger pressure on intensity, efficiency, economy and quality means that in agriculture, too, material incentives and a more pronounced application of merit principles must prevail. In recent years, the fundamental principles governing the system of remuneration in agriculture and the other sectors of the national economy were standardized. This has created the prerequisites for a comparable social evaluation of work. In essence, the level of earnings has been increasing in harmony with the development of labor productivity. In the cooperative sector the average wages have caught up with the average wages in the national economy.

Despite these positive results, the practice of remuneration up to now does not sufficiently motivate agricultural enterprises and their employees to expand agricultural production further. In the majority of cooperatives, the well-tried cooperative traditions regarding remuneration of collectives and individuals, expressed above all by a high share of the remuneration for the enterprises' annual economic result, have been weakened. At present, the utilization of shared remunerations for economic results is minimal. This has weakened the motivation function of the remuneration, which makes employees interested not only in the fulfillment of everyday tasks but also in systematically increasing the economic standard of agricultural enterprises as a whole. Not all management workers have so far understood that we cannot tolerate a trend toward egalitarianism [nivelizacni tendence], and that it is impossible to increase remuneration regardless of the creation of resources by enterprises. Every enterprise must create its own resources for remuneration by its own activity. Only the results achieved by enterprises can ensure a proportional growth of remunerations.

If we proceed from the assumption that the growth of the intensity and effectiveness of production is in the first place in the hands of people, that it depends on the quality of their work, then we must assert everywhere in practice the socialist principle of remuneration according to merit. This basic orientation is pursued by the proposed measures in the system of material incentives.

All basic principles of the system will be effective only if they are to a corresponding extent introduced in enterprises and intraenterprise units [utvary]. To achieve that, one has to assert with a considerably greater purposefulness and consistency the intra-enterprise economic accountability [khozraschet]. As industry's experience shows, its elaboration and introduction is a complex and demanding process. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the regional and district agricultural administrations must do more for its broad application in practice. Achieving a material interlacing of enterprise interests with the interests of individual work collectives in intraenterprise units, and making full use also of the adopted measures aimed at material incentives, is one of the decisive tasks which the controlling agricultural agencies will have to ensure consistently when implementing the system.

Not even the best possible instruments of management can bring about the desired change and ensure an effective growth of agricultural production unless they are linked to a higher standard of everyday management work and responsibility. Even the most perfect management instruments in the hands of inadequately qualified and inadequately committed ranking personnel can fail to reap the desired results. This applies to all management links without exception.

As for agricultural enterprises and their management, they are being accorded a more exacting status. This corresponds not only to the achieved level of the expansion of production potential, to the standard and qualifications of cadres, but especially to the tasks which our agriculture has to solve and the conditions in which they will be ensured. The managements of enterprises must daily prove their social responsibility and qualifications. The quality of the enterprise plan, measured by its maximal contribution to society and its consistent fulfillment, will be the main criterion of this ability. Also, the accountability of the enterprise's management vis-a-vis the entire work collective is being deepened. More than ever before, it will be necessary to render accounts to cooperative farmers, explaining why results are worse than those of the neighboring cooperative operating in similar conditions, why the all-social needs and the personal and collective needs of members are not being satisfied to the same degree. This is connected with the qualitatively higher demands on the application of the principle of introcooperative democracy and on the deepening of the participation of working people in management and administration.

The consistent application of the fundamental political and economic objectives of the system and the solution of complex tasks concerning the restoration of agricultural production's dynamics require that the managerial employees in agricultural enterprises substantially reinforce their everyday educational and organizational work. It is necessary to overcome more emphatically manifestations of formalism in discussing tasks in the work collectives and in organizing the working people's participation in management. This work is still irregular, intermittent and does not find the needed response in the work collectives. Concrete conclusions, drawn from the discussions of tasks and from the evaluation of their fulfillment, must be achieved, above all.

The Ministry of Agriculture and agricultural administrations must more consistently ensure the implementation of the conceptual plans that have been adopted to develop individual branches of agricultural production and substantially reinforce their control activity.

It is necessary tc get rid of antiquated adminstrative forms and methods of work speedily, and to intensity direct contact with the lower links of management and agricultural enterprises. It is essential to exert an even greater endeavor in the struggle against complacency and deep-rooted stereotypes in the work and thinking of the employees of those bodies. We consider it essential to work out speedily, in the wake of the improved system of management, also a draft of measures that would determine more accurately the content of activity and the scope of jurisdiction and responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and regional and district agricultural administrations. The Central Committee expects communists in the central agencies to speedily finish work on all issues connected with implementing the system. Managerial agricultural bodies at all levels, from the ministry down to the agricultural enterprises, must implement, with the awareness of great all-social responsibility, concrete effective measures aimed at ensuring the planned tasks, speeding up the dynamics of agricultural production and reducing to the minimum the consequences of the limited fodder resources for livestock production.

The Set of Measures creates the prerequisites for the work of every link of management and every worker to be gradually rid of anonymity, and for enhancing their responsibility for running the sector entrusted to them. This applies to agricultural enterprises and service organizations as well as ministry and regional and district agricultural administrations. Everyone must be fully aware of this. The exacting nature of the times and the complexity and the difficulty of the tasks we are solving require, above all, that party organs and organizations employ in their everyday activity all means to fight against this anonymity. Everywhere, at all levels, we must insist on concrete responsibility for concrete tasks, and evaluate people according to the fulfillment of these tasks. That applies to those who are taking care of livestock, to tractor drivers as well as to the chairmen of cooperatives and directors of state farms, and to the staff of agricultural administraions or service organizations. Everyone is in charge of a concrete sector and concrete work. Therefore, he also has an absolutely concrete degree of responsibility, which we must demand consistently from every one of them.

Active and Purposeful Political Work

Comrades, the conditions in which we are carrying out the tasks of the 16th congress place great demands on the work of party bodies and organizations. The decisive thing will now be for communists, above all, to correctly understand the complexity and urgency of the tasks we are solving in the entire national economy and, of course, in agriculture. The basic orientation aid for their work is the line aimed at increasing self-sufficiency in producing foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials. The implementation of this line requires active and purposeful political work aimed at a full utilization of untapped potentials, at applying the results of scientific and technical progress and at developing the working people's creative initiative. It requires that we make more effective use of all means of political, ideological and organization influence ot achieve the consistent and comprehensive implementation in all enterprises of the program of strict cost efficiency and thrift; to achieve, everywhere, the erection of a reliable barrier against waste and all avoidable losses. This places great demands especially on the activity of communists in the leading economic offices. Important tasks are facing the party bodies and organizations especially regarding the political, ideological and organizational consolidation of primary party organizations in agricultural enterprises and service organizations, and the improvement of the quality of their membership base. Their activity will to a great extent determine the concrete implementation of party policy as to the solution of the tasks which we discuss today. The party organizations can best judge how well labor is being organized, what its results are, whether it is correctly rewarded , how good a use is being made of production assets and how economically the entrusted funds are being handled. It is essential that they penetrate more deeply into the economic and sociopolitical problems at all workplaces, that they are in the front ranks of their consistent solution, and that they control early enough and demandingly the fulfillment of party resolutions.

They must energetically see to it, above all, that within the range of their activity the disproportions between the standard of plant and livestock productions are dealt with speedily and concretely. They must see to it that prerequisites are created for an effective utilization of the land stock for cattle breeding, and for an efficient handling of fodder, fuels, energy and materials. Party organizations and communists at all levels of agriculture must make sure that every agricultural enterprise works with good quality and, above all, consistently implements rationalization programs concerning the consumption of fodder and savings of fuels and energy, and that it draws conclusions from the failure to fulfill those programs. They must deal with the economy to a far greater degree than up to now. They must also more effectively support the development of self-supply with agricultural products, including the utilization of small-scale breeders' and growers' possibilities to till all available land so as to enrich the food market.

Important tasks confront them also in connection with the introduction of the improved system of planned management in agriculture. All agricultural employees must be acquainted with its principles and with its concrete impact on local conditions. The most important thing of all is that the system as a whole and its individual measures should be correctly understood and used as an active instrument for overcoming the present problems and further developing agricultural production. This requires that the application and utilization of the measures of the system should not end at the enterprise level, but should be applied everywhere down to the individual workplaces and work collectives. Party organizations must fully support implementing one of the major intentions of the system, which is the intensification of the working people's material interest in the quality and effectiveness of their work. It is necessary to achieve remuneration becoming a genuine instrument for mobilizing untapped potential, for increasing activity and for developing all employees' initiative.

Hand-in-hand with the demanding nature of the conditions in which we are implementing the line of the 16th congress, the demands on the effectiveness of cadre work continue to rise. Above all, it is necessary to give support everywhere to ranking employees who possess a sense for that which is new, who impose more demanding criteria on their own work and the work of their fellow employees, and who demand a consistent, disciplined fulfillment of tasks. It is necessary to more courageously elevate cadres that are more competent to the places of those who are not mastering their tasks. It is necessary to more resolutely approach the establishment of cadre reserves and concentrate on a purposeful preparation of young, promising cadres, and their elevation to posts.

A key position in the work of party bodies and organizations must be held by concrete work among people, work aimed at making them understand party policy, at making them understand why this or that measure is being adopted. It is necessary to increase everywhere the participation of working people in the solution of problems, and to take their suggestions and comments more into account than has been the case so far. In all agricultural enterprises we must improve the quality of production consultations, mass political work and the forms and methods of economic propaganda and agitation. We must develop people's initiative aimed at consistently fulfilling tasks and at asserting high effectiveness and quality of all work.

These are the directions in which we must increase the demands placed on the work of party organizations and communists in economic managements, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Cooperative Farmers' Union and the Socialist Youth Union. It is necessary to give clear, truthful and concrete answers to the complex questions raised by life. Communists must be in the front ranks of the fulfillment of tasks and measures, including those that might encounter lack of understanding at the beginning.

Communists must not dodge conflicts, especially those that emerge as a result of clashes between good quality and responsible work on the one hand, and slovenly and irresponsible work on the other. It is necessary to point concretely and specifically to good and to bad examples. We must evaluate and compare individual enterprises, production centers, work collectives and individuals with the aim of creating in every work collective an atmosphere of high recognition for the work results of outstanding employees, an atmosphere that commits everyone to study thoroughly their work methods and to propagate them. On the other hand, it is necessary to create an atmosphere of irreconcilability to lack of discipline and poor quality work, which are causing considerable damage to society and individual work collectives.

Comrades, the tasks confronting our agriculture in connection with implementing the line of the 16th congress are exacting. The documents on improving the planned management of agriculture, which we are discussing today, represent an important step on the path toward fulfilling this congress line. Now 6 months after the congress deliberations, it is obvious how great a political and economic struggle we will have to wage to consistently ensure the congress line. It would be an unforgivable mistake to believe that the measures we are discussing will work automatically. Their implementation in the practical activity of the directing bodies and of agricultural enterprises will be a complicated and demanding process. Party bodies and organizations but, above all, the ministry and agricultural administrations must systematically supervise this process, exert an active influence on it and respond in good time to tendencies that would run counter to all-social interests.

The development of agriculture, and of the entire complex of branches that ensure food for the population, is indivisibly linked with the overall tasks of our economy. All the more does the categorical need for a consistent concentration on full utilization of all domestic resources and possibilities come to the forefront. After all, these are far from having been exhausted in our agriculture. The CPCZ has proved many times that it is capable of mobilizing working people for the struggle to master exceptionally exacting tasks. There is no doubt that we will succeed in it again, in ensuring the further development of our socialist agriculture, in the interest of successfully fulfilling the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

FEDERAL PREMIER STROUGAL RECEIVES SFRY'S KOSTIC

LD031354 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] In the Hrzan Palace in Prague today, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Finance Petar Kostic, who is visiting Czechoslovakia. The two representatives talked about the current economic situation in the world, as well as about the main tasks of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav economies. They highly assessed the development of traditional and multilateral relations between the two countries and the results achieved in expanding economic cooperation, and stressed their interest in deepening cooperation. They noted that an increasingly greater significance will be attached to this sphere, particularly the further intensification of production cooperation and specialization and cooperation on third markets.

Talk on Economic Relations

LD032116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Prague, 3 Nov (TANJUG) -- The finance and banking sectors of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia should stimulate commodity exchange, cooperation and specialization in bilateral economic cooperation. This was said in the closing talks here today between Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Finance Petar Kostic and his Czechoslovakian counterpart Leopold Ler. The development of Yugoslav-Czechoslovakian economic cooperation was favourably assessed in today's meeting between Czechoslovak Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal and Petar Kostic. The Yugoslav federal secretary of finance this afternoon left here for Belgrade.

Czechoslovakia is Yugoslavia's second largest trade partner among socialist countries. Over the past five years, mutual deliveries amounted to 4 billion 900 million dollars, and in the 1981-1985 period they are foreseen to increase by half this amount. It is considered as realistic that this year the value of commodity exchange between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia will reach over one billion 400 million dollars, the Yugoslav export being foreseen to reach 733 million dollars. Last year Yugoslav-Czechoslovakian trade reached the value of 977 million dollars.

KEMPNY CHAIRS NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING ON FUELS

LD032215 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0030 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The Czech National Council Presidium discussed at a session held today a report on the supplies of solid fuels to the population in the period 1980-81 and on the prospects for 1982. The session was chaired by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council.

The Presidium stated that particularly in recent years the safeguarding of fuels and power has been of major economic importance. This is why constant attention is being paid to the most economical use of all kinds of fuels and power not only in the economic sphere but also in general consumption.

The Czech National Council Presidium has paid tribute to the devoted work of miners, workers of National Committees, and coal suppliers who have contributed to the smooth supplies of solid fuels to the population this year. It drew attention, however, to the continuous shortcomings in the quality and the required range of coal fields.

COAL FOR HOUSEHOLDS THIS WINTER 'ENSURED'

AU021307 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Oct 81 p 7

[MP-signed report: "Press Conference of the Minister of Trade of the Czech Socialist Republic; Coal Supply Before the Heating Season"]

[Text] Prague, (MP) -- The supply to the population of solid fuels before the approaching heating season is ensured, Jaroslav Blazek, CSR minister of trade, emphasized at a press conference yesterday. By 20 October 1981, the Uhelne Sklady [coal stores] enterprise had delivered to consumers throughout Czechsolovakia about 17 million tons of coal, coke and briquettes, which is 1.5 percent more than in the same period last year. Also, the state of stocks in storehouses is satisfactory; compared with last year they are about 10 percent larger. As for deliveries of wood for burning, they are lower, and the Uhelne Sklady enterprise is unable to cover the demand. Compared with last year, there is 7 percent less wood available, and also the direct sales by forest enterprises -- especially because of difficulties with transporting it to consumers -- are lower. On the other hand, there is more -- by about 15 percent -- coke to be had.

Despite the trade's claim that it will cope with all orders, one cannot count on every consumer's wish to be satisfied. The main reason, in the first place, is the quality of coal which, compared with the previous year, has again worsened. This reflects the more complex extraction conditions and the shortage of processing capacities. The level of supplies also varies considerably. Although the climatic conditions throughout Czechoslovakia are essentially the same, the limits of deliveries for households considerably differ in individual regions -- they are between 19 and 36 quintals. The Ministry of Trade, in cooperation with the regional National Committees, should speedily eliminate such unjustified differences.

VERNER HOLDS TALKS WITH POLAND'S KOWALCZYK

LD031838 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Nov (ADN) -- Paul Verner, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Prof Dr Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, for a friendly talk. The Polish guest is in the GDR at the invitation of the Central Executive of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany.

Paul Verner spoke about the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress in further shaping an advnaced socialist society in the GDR. He paid tribute to the activities of the parties and mass organizations, united in the GDR National Front. In the alliance of all democratic forces under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, great achievements were being performed to strengthen and consolidate the GDR, the socialist community of states and to secure peace.

Prof Dr Kowalczyk spoke about the endeavor of the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic by the side of the PZPR and to rebuff attacks by enemies of socialism against the socialist state and social system.

The talk was attended by Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, Waldemar Pilz, head of a department at the SED Central Committee, and Dr Ryszard Karwicki, counselor at the embassy of the Polish People's Rebublic in the GDR.

STOPH RECEIVES SOVIET CONSTRUCTION MINISTER

LD032140 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, met the Soviet minister of construction, Georgiy Karavayev, in Berlin today and paid tribute to the fraternal alliance between the two states. In view of the acute internatinal situation and the threat to peace by the most aggressive imperialist forces, increasingly close cooperation is becoming more and more significant. It guarantees the solution of the agreed economic, scientific and social targets, for the good of the people of the GDR and the USSR. The Soviet guest appraised the cooperation between building workers, engineers, architects and constuction scientists of the two countries. The delegation of Soviet construction workers, headed by Georgiy Karavayev, inspected the implementation of the GDR housing program.

SED DELEGATION TO MOSCOW CONFERENCE NAMED

LD031512 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1325 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Nov (ADN) -- A meeting of secretaries for international and ideoligical issues of the Central Committees of communist and workers' parties from socialist countries began in Moscow today.

The SED is represented by the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries, Hermann Axen and Joachim Herrmann, the Central Committee members, Manfred Feist and Johannes Hoernig, and the member of the SED Central Auditing Commission, Bruno Mahlow.

Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the opening of the meeting.

KRENZ HOLDS TALKS WITH FRG BUNDESTAG DEPUTY

LD032214 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Nov (ADN) -- Karsten D. Voigt, deputy of the FRG Bundestag, spokesman of the SPD group in the Bundestag Foreign Relations Committee and former chairman of the SPD Young Socialists, on Tuesday concluded a 2-day visit in the GDR. In talks with Karsten D. Voigt, Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate-member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, spoke about efforts towards the future implementation of the policy of peace decided by the 10th SED Congress, and the continued pursuit of the main task, involving the unity of social and economic policy. He stressed that the working people and youth of the GDR saw their tireless work towards strengthening the republic also as a major contribution to securing peace. Egon Krenz pointed to the conclusion of the "second days of action of European youth and students for disarmament" in Dresden last weekend. The overwhelming impression of this event had been the unanimity of the progressive European youth and student movement in rejecting the deployment of new medium-range missiles.

The two partners stressed that nothing was more important than to work for the preservation of peace and to make sure that war should never again emanate from German soil. They agreed that concrete steps towards reducing armaments by means of agreements were essential in order to pursue the policy of detente in Europe.

They agreed on welcoming the fact that the Soviet and U.S. Government had agreed to start negotiations on arms limitation including nuclear weapons. Both partners stressed the great significance of these negotiations and hoped that they would lead to tangible results on the basis of an approximate military balance and equal security for both sides.

During his stay in the GDR, Karsten D. Voigt also had talks with the members of the SED Central Committee, Herbert Haeber and Wolfang Herger. The Bundestag deputy also had an exchange of views on topical questions pertaining to the continuation of the process of detente at the Institute for International Politics and Economy.

The talks passed in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

During his visit at the Berlin sport and recreation center Karsten D. Voigt inspected the resources and facilities for leisure activites.

SINDERMANN RECEIVES MONGOLIAN DELEGATION

LD031744 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Nov (ADN) -- GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann today received a delegation of the Great People's Hural of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic. The delegation, headed by Nyamyn Jagbaral, vice-chairman of the Great People's Hural Presidium, arrived in the GDR yesterday.

The two sides stressed the great responsibility of the parliaments of the two countries in the present complicated international situation. The People's Hural and the People's Chamber had issued appeals to the parliaments and people in all countries to ban the threat of war and secure peace.

The Mongolian parliamentarians today also placed a wreath to the memorial Unter den Linden to pay homage to the memory of the victims of fascism and militarism.

Meets Fischer 3 Nov

LD032202 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1910 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Nov (ADN) -- GDR Premier Willi Stoph on Tuesday received a delegation of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic headed by Nyamyn Jagvaral, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural.

Willi Stoph and Nyamyn Jagvaral agreed that securing peace and disarmament are the key issues today. Together with the USSR and the other socialist countries the GDR and Mongolia see their main task in international politics in thwarting the machinations of the most aggressive imperialist circles which are pursuing a policy of high speed arming and confrontation by active and coordinated moves so as to bring about genuine disarmament measures and all-round guarantees for peace.

The two partners stated their satisfaction at the good state of bilateral relations.

On the same day the guests also met GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ZIMBABWE SIGNED 2 NOV

LD031732 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Salisbury, 3 Nov (ADN) -- The first longterm trade agreement between the GDR and Zimbabwe was signed yesterday by GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Friedmar Clausnitzer and the Zimbabwe minister of economic planning, Dr Bernard Chidzerd.

Under the agreement, the GDR will supply machinery and equipment for the textile industry, agriculture and the Zimbabwe telecommunications system. The GDR will import coffee, minerals and tobacco.

BLOC STATES NATURAL ALLIES OF PEACE MOVEMENT

DW031214 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1814 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Gerhard Boehm review of the past week's events]

[Text] If we survey the foreign affairs events of the past few days, and in particular over the weekend, then one major problem incontestably commands the foreground: the efforts for the preservation of peace, the struggle against the arms buildup by the United States and NATO, the resistance against the planned deployment of missiles in Western Europe, the demand for true and effective disarmament negotiations.

Over the weekend, too, many countries of Europe saw powerful protest rallies against the dangerous play with the nuclear fire by imperialism with its efforts toward military superiority over the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. Millions of humble people realize constantly more clearly that the danger to peace does not indeed come from the East -- as they are made to believe by means of the lie about the threat by the Soviet Union -- but from the policy of the arms buildup, from NATO's missile decision of Brussels, from the plans concerning the neutron weapons.

This realization time and again drives thousands and hundreds of thousands into the streets for participation in demonstrations and rallies. In Dresden, there was a thrilling manifestation of delegates of the democratic youth of Europe and 2,500 FDJ members on Saturday, marking the conclusion of the Second European Days of Action of the Youth with an appeal to the youth of Europe to intensify the struggle for peace.

There were rallies of young trade union members in Hanover and Frankfurt Main, FRG; British opponents to nuclear weapons in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, London and in many other places with torch parades demonstrated their demand for the discontinuation of the nuclear arms race and the nondeployment of cruise missiles in their country. Portugese young people collected signatures against nuclear weapons and for peace and disarmament. Likewise in Lisbon, the secretaries general of the French and Portugese Communist Parties, Georges Marchais and Alnaro Cunhal, avowed to thousands of rally participants the firm determination of their parties to do everything for the preservation of peace. There were rallies in the capital city of Cyprus, Nicosia; in Graz, and in the former concentration camp at Norohausen in Austria; in Milan and Venice, Italy; but also in Los Angeles and in Buenos Aires.

If we take a look at all these events -- and even more of them could be cited here -- then three findings seem to be indicated.

The first: Despite all efforts to play down the strength and the influence of the peace movement, despite all purposively pessimistic croaking that after the mass rallies of the past few weeks and months which involved hundreds of thousands of people this movement would abate, lose attractiveness, and allow the return to the daily routine, meaning the return to imperialist policy of arms buildup, it turns out that there is no relaxation in the struggle for peace. The peace movement proliferates, its unity grow stronger, and new climaxes in the campaign are forthcoming, for example, an anti-NATO rally in Madrid on 15 November, a mass manifestation against an arms buildup in Amsterdam on 21 November. Others will follow.

The second findings: The advocates of NATO policy so far have not succeeded in driving a wedge into and split up the peace movement with anticommunist slander and with the insinuation that the participants in the peace movement are controlled by Moscow or are doing Moscow's bidding out of political ignorance, or in separating the peace movement from its natural allies, the peoples of the socialist countries.

On the contrary, constantly new forces greatly diversified politically and socially are being included in the peace movement. Especially, members of the trade union movement increasingly participate in the struggle for peace, such as the aforementioned young trade union members in the FRG. In Norway, where the trade unions have long engaged in the struggle for disarmament, a joint statement following the visit by an FDGB delegation headed by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Board and member of the SED Politburo, emphasized that the trade unions of Norway and the GDR share the concern of the peoples of Europe over the arms race and the intensification of tensions as well as their desire for negotiations on disarmament, security and peace. The delegations expressed the hope that the forthcoming Fourth European Trade Union Conference will also contribute to the safeguarding of peace on the European continent and to the development of a climate of confidence and cooperation in the European trade union movement. It was quite in this spirit that the WFTU over the weekend in a statement appealed to the trade unions of the world to more energetically than heretofore force the United States and its NATO allies to renounce their policy of an arms buildup.

And the third finding: Those governing in the NATO states must constantly more often acknowledge the powerful and further increasing movement for peace and disarmament and include in their calculations the constantly louder demands for effective and realistic disarmament negotiations. Obviously the times are gone when all peace manifestations, any opposition to NATO armament, could successfully be abused as communist and one-sidedly oriented. Definitely this is being tried over and over again, such as by U.S. Vice-President Bush who claimed in a lecture at Cambridge, Massachusetts, that the participants in the peace demonstrations had played the Soviet card, as he put it, that the Soviet propaganda apparatus has succeeded in scoring a certain success. Yet such utterances find an echo only among those people who share the same view anyway.

The fact alone that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger declared the exact opposite makes up prick up our ears. Eagleburger, who definitely is a hard advocate of the course of arms buildup and of the neutron bomb and who can hardly be suspected of harboring any sympathy for the peace movement, told the Yugoslav weekly NIN that the Soviet Union is not behind the peace movement in Western Europe: The phenomenon of the peace movement has real causes. Yet, the United States must couterarm in order to force the Soviet Union to negotiate. Apart from the fact that Eagleburger, by his demand for negotiations, is carrying coal to Newcastle as far as the Soviet Union is concerned -- the offers by the Soviet Union are legion -- this different assessment by two prominent U.S. politicians does make it plain that the uncertainty about ways of counteracting the peace movement obviously increases in Washington,

But even those who no longer expect to score any success with the method of directly attacking the peace movement, as practiced by Bush, and who would like to be more psychological and differentiating in their approach, such as Eagleburger, solely have in mind the building of as a massive a dam as possible against the increasing torrent of the movement for peace and disarmement and against the arms buildup and the risk of nuclear war.

In back of all this, however, is the intention to enforce the peace-endangering policy of the United States and of NATO without any regard for the destiny of millions of people, an intention which makes it utterly necessary not to leave any breathing spell to the advocates of arms buildup and nuclear armament. A mass movement for peace and disarmament such as now is unprecedented in the 3 decades since World War II. It must be continued if mankind is to be spared a nuclear catastrophe.

'POLISH VIRUS', 'PACIFIST VIRUS' NOTED

PM031629 Paris LE FIGARO in French 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 p 3

[Jean-Paul Picaper dispatch: "East Germany Fears Contamination"]

[Text] Berlin -- The "Polish virus" and the "pacifist virus" are threatening the GDR's communist party [SED], the former coming from the East over the past year and the latter a more recent arrival in the West too.

The priorities of the SED's domestic policy reflect the fear of contamination by the "Polish disease." They are: 1 -- the rigorous execution of the "main task," in other words the allocation of subsidies aimed in particular at curbing the growing gap between living standards in the GDR and FRG; 2 -- an intensive "flirtation" by the SED with the GDR's communist trade union federation, which is nonetheless already closely attached to the party (NEUES WEG, the SED cadres' magazine, has just written that this is the main objective of the 2 November trade union elections); 3 -- increase in party activities aimed at the other mass organizations and the four noncommunist parties (Christian, Liberal, National and Peasant parties) which also owe their allegiance to the communists. An ideology of "social harmony" is being propagated to avoid any split in this bloc led by the SED. Various channels are being activated to "move the people closer" to the state bodies and convince the workers that "their interests are well represented."

Another aspect is the glaring and striking intrusion of military matters into politics. There was a new departure recently when Defense Minister Hoffmann led the chairmen of the four parties on a visit to the border troops. The day before yesterday trade union chairman Harry Tisch spoke to the soldiers assuring them that his organization defends their interests.

Although fear prevails, as always, among the population, the participants at enterprise meetings are growing bolder.

The magic formula for obtaining satisfaction and appeasement is: "Well, are we going to reach the same situation as the Poles?" But it is not yet possible to talk of a political current, these are "subcutaneous" demonstrations.

The "pacifist virus" is no less dangerous. In Potsdam on Sunday the SED staged a demonstration by 50,000 reliable people, exclusively hostile to NATO, like the participants at the simultaneous PCF rally in Paris. The FRG communists' and "spartacists'" spectacular turn against a Western peace movement which, urged on by the churches and some Social Democrats, is tending to reject the Pershings but also the SS-20s, confirms the SED's fear of suffering in turn from a pacifism which was nicely American [as published] to begin with but is now "all-round". The communists are trying to regain control of pacifism. This is thought to be the aim of an invitation which East German Writer Stephan Hernlin has given to his progressive West German colleagues, asking them to come and debate the issue at the Academy of Sciencies in East Berlin.

Demand for "Civilian Service"

One sign of underlying pacifism in the GDR is that Saxony's Protestant Church has received 2,000 letters from believers asking for the creation of a "civilian service" to replace military service. Under the terms of an agreement reached in 1964 between Walter Ulbricht, who was then SED leader, and protestant Bishop Mitzenheim, East German conscienscious objectors were allocated to engineering units -- the "Bausoldaten" -- in which they worked with spades and picks instead of rifles. They now want a real "peace service" outside the armed forces. The improvement in relations between the SED and the Protestant Church demonstrated at the Dresden Ecumenical Council in August, does not make the party's reply any easier.

Speaking to theology students at Humboldt University in East Berlin in September, Mr Klaus Gysi, communist secretary of state for religious questions, told the young Christians who are demanding a "social peace service" in the GDR: "It isn't possible." This leadership member, reputed for his diplomatic flexibility and his open-mindedness, spoke bluntly, saying it was "natural" for this demand to emerge after the wave of pacifism at the Protestant Congress in Hamburg in June. But the GDR "is part of the Warsaw Pact" and it "already has enough trouble supplying the contingents required of it." Then he issued a warning, and specified that the words "social peace service" seem to suggest that the armed service is "antisocial" and that constitutes an attack on the "state's promordial interests" and will lead to confrontation if a campaign is waged on this theme.

AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE OPENS IN BERLIN

AU291704 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 81 pp 1-2

[Summary] Berlin (ND) -- "A 3-day scientific conference opened on Tuesday at the Humboldt University on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the agricultural university in Berlin and the 30th anniversary of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences in the GDR." It will deal with more effective agricultural raw material production and with shaping the environment. Erich Ruebensam, president of the academy, cordially welcomed Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister of university and technical school affairs, Heinz Kuhrig, minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; a delegation of the V.I. Lenin Academy of the USSR as well as delegations from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Cuba and Korea. In his opening address, Heinz Kuhrig stressed the future tasks of agriculture and the importance of the plant production as a source of raw materials. Dieter Spaar, vice president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, reported on the connection between agriculture and environment.

BENKE DISCUSSES COUNTERREVOLUTION, RENEWAL

LD031236 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 2 Nov 81

["The Test of Politics" -- Interview with Valeria Benke, member of the MSZMP Politburo and editor in chief of TARSADALMI SZEMLE, by Laszlo Zellei -- recorded; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the past week the tragic counterrevolutionary events of a quarter of a century ago have been brought to life by studies, articles and radio and television programs. We ask Comrade Valeria Benke to help summarize, synthesize and evaluate in a factual manner everything that we have seen and heard on this topic. Let me refer to a study which she published in 1968, "The Policy Was Unbroken," which discusses the history of 12 years. The term "unbroken" indicates that prior to 1956 the party's policy was not always free of discontinuities. When did the break occur in the years after liberation?

[Answer] The political break in what was until then a very successful communist policy occurred in 1949. Before that, the communist leadership pursued a policy that expressed well the interests of the working class, which had become the leading class of society, and that also took into consideration our allies' interests. Thereafter, partly as a result of mistaken strategic and political ideas and partly because of increasingly distorted methods, the entire character of our policies was transformed.

[Question] When did this break occur?

[Answer] It is difficult to characterize a policy with specific dates. I think that I can say at the beginning of 1949. Perhaps the Rajk trial was the event which signalled this turning point.

[Question] In other words, the political style which previously characterized the party's policy changed from the Rajk trial onward. How is it that this policy still had credit after the Rajk trial? Where did the policy which was able to carry out the illegal acts gain the credit it had?

[Answer] The greatest distortion was the illegality, the fact that on the basis of a false theses by Stalin -- one which postulated the permanent and inevitable sharpening of the class struggle -- amidst conditions when the majority of the population already inclined in a socialist direction, when the political unity of society was strengthening [Zellei interrupts]

[Question] What does this majority mean?

[Answer] I could characterize it on the basis of the results of the 1947 elections. At that time the four coalition parties received 60 percent of the votes. Of the four parties, the National Peasant Party and the Smallholders Party also accepted the perspective of the building of society by that time. I could describe the situation in 1949 by saying that the interest felt and the trust placed in socialism had increased; more people listened more readily to the political and economic ideas that our party raised or recommended. Despite this fact, there were still wide strata in society which did not embrace the socialist perspective.

[Question] How did the party gain trust after 1945 so that by 1947 60 percent of the people were moving toward the socialist perspective?

[Answer] First and foremost by having raised social problems from the very beginning and recommending solutions as they became apparent, successful solutions with which it was able to gain the support of the majority of the Hungarian population, particularly the working classes. The Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP) was able to maintain confidence in its own policy -- even in those years when it was committing more and more mistakes -- because the results achieved in the previous years, the very significant changes in the position of the working class and the peasantry, the promising plans and the partial realization of these plans justified and maintained this trust despite the mistakes which accumulated in various areas.

The mistaken nature of the policy as a whole did not come to the surface for a long time. The nationalization of industry took place in 1948; I can say quite safely that is was enthusiastically welcomed by the vast majority of the working class. The organization of cooperatives also got underway. Even so, individual peasant farming was still the dominant mode and at that time most of the peasants were naturally not yet inclined toward cooperative farming. However, wide strata of the peasantry also had confidence in the party which initiated the land distribution and which helped those who received the land and the small, individual peasants in general to successfully carry out their work by defending them against speculation and other machinations aimed at their standard of living and the standard of living of the working masses in general.

[Question] What change occurred in the standard of living? At one time this was a country of 3 million beggars.

[Answer] It is perhaps difficult to prove this with the help of statistics. After all, statistics were unable to measure the real standard of living of these 3 million beggars. However, those who can trust sociographical methods -- and we have reason to trust them -- can evaluate this from works such as "Soul and Bread" by Gyula Illyes. A very sudden and very significant change occurred in their lives and in their standard of living; even though much later surveys, statistical surveys carried out at the beginning of the 1960's, still indicated a considerable degree of poverty among the rural Hungarian population.

[Question] Let us return to the period between 1949 and 1956. I would like you to generally describe the political breaks. In other words, what was the main fault in the party's policy during the Rakosi leadership and then after 1953?

[Answer] A voluntary economic policy which disregarded the extent of the country's and the population's ability to bear burdens developed unrealistically high development targets and made these accepted. When difficulties in fulfilling the plans occurred, the party assumed, in line with the leadership methods prevailing then and with the constantly increasing political mistrust, that sabotage, hostile activities and bad will were responsible. In fact the truth was that the appropriate conditions for implementing these overambitious plans were missing. There was another very important factor, namely that it did not develop or poorly developed the workers' everyday interests.

[Question] Did they not use this concept, interest; or how was it interpreted?

[Answer] The dogmatic social theory at that time employed two spheres of interest, namely social interest and individual interest. Individual interest was regarded as not just inferior but within the sphere of political practice as one that would eventually be detrimental to the general interests of society. When the enterprises were unable to fulfill their plans, when the strictly prescribed central proportions of the plans were not realized in practice but rather one or another branch or industry pulled ahead, these divergences were blamed on subjective causes. Such subjective causes of divergence from the central plan serving the interests of society were, to list them by name: ministry chauvinism leading to demands for unrealistically large investments -- unfortunately, some of these actually occurred, causing some ministries or branches to make development of other branches more difficult; lack of understanding by individual enterprises, namely when the functioning of a certain enterprise did not accord with the interests of providing supplies or with other social interests.

[Question] Was this known as a lack of understanding?

[Answer] Yes, lack of understanding. It was thought that enterprises did not have sufficient understanding of society's specific demands. Let me add that social interests were mentioned, and this was taken seriously as well. This related to providing supplies to the population.

Nonetheless, in a strange, schizophrenic way, a mistaken theoretical, and therefore bad, political explanation arose according to which the greatest obstacle to the healthy development of the economy was individual interest -- because group interests were not mentioned in those days yet -- opposing the social interest.

[Question] The raised plans and the stressed industrialization eventually had to be discovered, so to speak. Why was the party not able to carry out the self-correction that MSZMP has been able to do ever since 1957?

[Answer] We may seek the main reason for the very painful break in the life of Hungarian society in the then existing party or party leadership. The old leadership followed an incorrect path in social policy. Moreover, the situation in the party changed in such a way that it became unworthy of a communist party. Party democracy could hardly be asserted and collective leadership ceased to exist. At the highest level was a leading group, then called the "foursome" even after the central leadership had already criticized that policy in 1953. Within that "foursome," Rakosi increasingly considered his own view and excluded all others in making social decisions.

[Question] You have just mentioned 1953 and the fact that criticism was made then. What followed after this and why was there failure to reach practical conclusions: After all, Imre Nagy was appointed premier at that time.

[Answer] After Stalin's death, the CPSU submitted its own work to a comprehensive critical analysis. The statements made then and the conclusions reached correctly provided lessons for other parties, too. Thus, our party's central leadership met June 1953. At that session the Politburo analyzed in a rather sharp way the mistakes committed, including, first and foremost, the mistakes in economic policy. Changes also occurred in politics so that that area could be corrected. This was how Imre Nagy became premier. Although the analysis was not sufficiently profound, it nonetheless could have provided the opportunity for a new direction in policies.

[Question] Yet there was no new direction.

[Answer] No, because presenting that decision to society was done in a rather unfortunate way. The party membership and the party aktiv did not get any information about it. It was announced by Imre Nagy in parliament and [Zellei interrupts]

[Question] As his own program?

[Answer] Yes, he presented the decision and the new program -- which in their substance were based on the central leadership's analysis -- to the public in a way that suggested they expressed his own idea. Incidentally, there were differences in concepts and this unfortunately was soon discovered. In Budapest a week or two later a party aktiv was held at which Rakosi and Imre Nagy presented reports. It became obvious then that the two had differences, if only in emphasis. Correction of the policy was prevented later by the fact that groups representing these two different extremes in the leadership were struggling with each other instead of bringing about a better solution of the issues of society and instead of dealing with correcting the policy.

[Question] Therefore, it was the struggle of the Rakosi and Imre Nagy extremes that lead almost directly to the outbreak of the counterrevolution. However, what happened in the meantime, between 1953-56, to the party's very large membership of about 1 million people?

[Answer] The old leadership group, which represented the dogmatic sectarian policies, attempted to halt the changes. At the same time, the so-called "party opposition" was formed around Imre Nagy which had revisionist political shortcomings and, perhaps in many cases, personal ambitions. All of this created a situation in which party unity broke down and then the internicine struggle of the two groups virtually paralyzed the party. The fact that the illegalities had become known contributed to a great extent to this paralysis. This caused a very grave moral crisis for the party membership, especially in 1956.

[Question] The counterrevolution -- as we all know and as a great deal is being said about it -- broke out on 23 October. However, I would like to broaden the subject by asking the following: There is a theory in the West, claiming that these crises of socialism are of its nature and are inevitable.

[Answer] If we take as our point of departure the resolution of 1953 and the resolution passed in July 1956, which contained among other things Rakosi's dismissal, the main elements that were described as incorrect in these resolutions and what concepts were expressed so that we could correct the policies, then I would say that it was not inevitable that the country and the party should have found themselves in such a grave crisis.

[Question -- interrupting] Sorry for interrupting. So it could be concluded from the 1953 and 1956 resolutions that there was a sound force in the party that did not belong to the extremes and that could later stand in the vanguard of renewal?

[Answer] We should consider what forces and what endeavours thwarted the attempts to avoid if not a crisis, at least a headlong rush into national tragedy, an armed counterrevolution.

[Question] The MSZMP Provisional Executive Committee carried out this analysis as early as December 1956. What were its main elements?

[Answer] The resolution, which we regard as the starting point of our party's renewal, attempted to answer, first and foremost, two questions. First, the resolution had to judge the nature of the events that had taken place. Second, it had to seed out the causes that led to the events. The resolution had to state, clearly that a counterrevolution had taken place in Hungary. It may seem strange with the benefit of hindsight why this should have represented...

[Question -- interrupting] Why was this debated?

[Answer] This was debated because many of the people who drifted into the counterrevolutionary rebellion had demanded, even earlier and with greater and greater force, that the mistakes be uncovered and eliminated. When this rebellion broke out it attempted to disguise itself and, in part, it succeeded. It was attempted to make it appear that people were being first (?pushed into) an armed rebellion in the interests of correcting the mistakes of socialism.

Many people lived through the events of 1956, the barrage of criticism directed against the party and its policies, regarding all of this as indispensably necessary and which could only have a positive effect regardless of the circumstances and of the concrete domestic social or international conditions. Those who took a stand in public life, from the Petoefi Circle to newspaper articles and literary statements, forcefully and sharply expressed all real or imaginary mistakes. Most of them, obviously, thought about this with the best of intentions. One could only question their political judgement in a situation where the main forces of socialist society were in a state of disorientation, lacking direction and in a temporary state of moral paralysis. The paralysis of the main forces of society and this barrage of criticism which, apart form its many realistic and just elements also contained unrealistic and exaggerated criticisms, created a general atmosphere in which those who were not guided by the desire to correct the mistakes of socialist society but were striving to eliminate socialism could, if I may put it this way, live like real lords.

[Question] So this was the reason behind the definition of "counterrevolution", which was an essential point in the December 1956 resolution.

[Answer] Yes, this caused, if you want to put it this way, a problem or a debate -- indeed, there were even those within the party with whom one had to argue and there were a great many people to argue with in the country as a whole -- because they took their own intentions as their point of departure. These intentions were aimed at eliminating the mistakes of socialism. Those who were not aware of this have had to learn that in politics there are no elections about intentions.

[Question] The other main concept of this resolution was concerned with hostile activity regarding external and internal enemies.

[Answer] The analysis concluded that a counterrevolution had taken place in Hungary and then went on to find an answer to the question: "How could we get this far?" The Provisional Executive Committee then named four causes. First it identified the sectarian mistakes, dogmatic concepts and distorted political methods of the former leadership. Many of our comrades resented this, seeing as they did that rightwing political trends were raging in the country, that people were in a state of serious disorientation and that they had become the playthings of reactionary forces. However, laying the foundations of a principled policy, we had to remember what we should regard as most important among the four fundamental causes. This was the mistake of our own party or, rather, of the party leadership.

[Question] If I understand it correctly then the nature of the debate was on the ordering of the importance of the first and second points, namely, whether it was the mistakes of dogmatism or revisionism that had led to the counterrevolution.

[Answer] That is right. Among the two trends that had brought the party to a state of paralysis, revisionism had played in the last few weeks by no means a minor role, whether we consider the loudness of its voice or its obvious influence. This revisionism provided an opportunity for the crudely antisocialist hostile internal forces to line up behind it.

[Question] Thus, in a complex manner, the external and internal enemies which the resolution mentions under points three and four lined up behind revisionism.

[Answer] At any rate, revisionism provided them with something to hide behind.

[Question] And it also opened doors for them.

[Answer] Behind its own political theses and slogans. It would be difficult to determine who hid behind whom. Twelve years after WWII the hostile forces, although defeated, were here in quite considerable numbers.

[Question] Who made up these internal hostile forces. It is rather strange that while Laszlo Rajk and others inside the party were convicted, the Rakosi leadership failed to deal sufficiently with these hostile forces. Or was it impossible to deal with them.

[Answer] It would have been impossible to imprison all those who served fascist Hungary. Just think, there were vast numbers of people serving in the police, the gendarmerie and other apparatuses whose ideas were determined ideologically -- as well as their material interests -- by that regime even when they appeared superficially to have accepted the changes.

The most characteristic figures of Hungarian reaction were working from outside the borders of the country against the Hungarian people's democracy which was in the process of development. The various hostile forces in Hungary, however, created many problems during the transformation process; they hindered development. However, these forces appeared less and less openly with the strengthening of the people's democracy. Nonetheless, it would have been possible to realize, just as the investigatory organs later uncovered, that there were a very large number of illegal organizations which, if you like, had a base among the people.

[Question] Can we say that these were armed organizations?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Thus, putting it very simply, relations between the party and the masses were at a very low point. How was the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party able to formulate a policy that regained confidence, even if not immediately?

After all, I think it is wrong to believe that order was restored after 4 November from day to day and that there was no need to wage a political struggle. Thus, how was the party able to regain trust?

[Answer] Well, if anyone believes that this came about from one day to the next, this is something that can be answered with the help of a few facts.

[Question] What are these facts?

[Answer] Weapons could be used to defeat the armed counterrevolution. This was a precondition for us to be able to solve ensuring political problems by political means. It was thanks to the military support given by the Soviet Union that the internal and external armed forces which had attacked the people's power failed. But the overcoming of the serious crisis of our society required political means. For a long time consolidation was hindered by the forces which organized a 6-week general strike and which were, unfortunately, able to carry this out in Hungary. The strike lasted until the middle of December. Regaining political trust was a difficult task which took a long time. We can say with great praise for the Hungarian working class and the sincere adherence of the socialist order in Hungary that the serious disorientation came to an end relatively quickly among the workers, among the technical intelligentsia. The counterrevolution failed to have much affect among the peasantry -- although the peasants were also affected by the nationalistic demagogy -- despite their political grievances. I think that this can be explained by the fact that the counterrevolution was unable to appear in disguise among the peasantry. In Budapest it was possible to take action on behalf of the goals of the counterrevolution dressed in workers' overalls. If someone who was a member of an illegal armed organization wanted capitalist restoration, he could make speeches saying that he wanted to correct the faults of socialism.

[Question] And in the villages?

[Answer] In the village, when the gendarme or the estate manager or the representative of the landowner came around then everyone in the village knew not only who was involved but also what was involved. In the towns and particularly in Budapest the disguise in which they appeared made it possible to mislead people for a long time.

[Question] Should I understand this to mean that in relation to the present day there was no need for so many political steps, that the peasantry did not present the party with as many political problems as the working class and the intelligentsia?

[Answer] This contrast is not a good one in this form. The state of disorientation of the working class was a very serious problem because the counterrevolution using the misled workers managed to maintain the appearance for several weeks with the help of workers councils, various revolutionary committees and other organizational forms of representing the voice of the majority of the people. In those days there was a view among the intelligentsia which said that if the people did not want socialism then there should not be socialism. This was said during the bloodiest period of the counterrevolution when the forces of reaction were released to such an extent that they found it no longer necessary to reiterate that they wanted to correct the faults of socialism. They operated with reactionary, counterrevolutionary slogans and with fascist slogans during the white terror.

Clarity of vision was more difficult among the workers in the sense that there were quite a few workers who were for some time still under the influence of the nationalist demagogy. However, it was not the case that the masses of workers could be made to demand the restoration of capitalism. The Mindzenty speech represented a watershed with the peasantry.

[Question] In what sense?

[Answer] This 3 November speech made it unmistakably clear that the counterrevolution, which regarded itself as victorious, wanted a change of regime which would restore the old landownership. This affected the immediate interests of the masses.

[Question] Thus, the first steps taken by the party in the interests of regaining trust occured, so to speak, on the level of the policy of alliance. A new type of policy of alliance had to be developed. What was the basic principle of this policy of alliance?

[Answer] Among the mistakes of the earlier leadership, agrarian policy was particularly mistaken even within the generally mistaken economic policy. In an endeavour to speed up the socialist transformation of the country, the earlier leadership engaged in forced collectivization, that is, the compulsory organization of cooperatives. They wanted to facilitate moving the peasantry into the cooperatives with methods such as the heavy burdens of agricultural deliveries and taxation and other measures hindering individual farming which, while not helping the development of the cooperatives, seriously damaged agricultural production and supplies. The molestation of the peasantry and the deterioration of the conditions under which they were farming created problems for the peasantry as a whole and shook their confidence. Even so, it was not the socialist system in which they lost their trust as was demonstrated in November 1956 and in the beginning of 1957. An important part of the party's policy, in line with the Leninist principles, is that the alliance of the working class and the peasantry should form the basis of the exercise of power, the firm social basis of socialist society. What I have just spoken about was a very serious transgression of this worker-peasant alliance and the new leadership began to correct this immediately.

[Question] How?

[Answer] We abolished the system of compulsory deliveries: We tried to solve the problem of agricultural production and supplying the urban population through price supports and contracts, in other words, through economic influences.

[Question] But these largely remained individual peasant holdings. A proportion of the cooperatives disintegrated in 1956.

[Answer] Yes, the majority of the Hungarian peasantry at that time did not want to work in cooperatives. The remaining cooperatives indicated and demonstrated that a socialist perspective had already established sufficient roots among the Hungarian peasantry, thus, many cooperatives stayed together. Even our initial statements did not deny that the future of the peasantry and agrarian production would be represented by the large collective farms; however, we took a definite stand saying that there were still reserves in individual farming, that supplying the population required their undisturbed functioning and consequently political and economic decisions were made in support of individual farming.

[Question] Was it proven in practice, too, that there were reserves in the private plots?

[Answer] Yes, that was the case because the situation improved in the initial years.

[Question] That is to say in 1957-58.

[Answer] Yes, agricultural production improved somewhat and, through this, supplies improved as well.

[Question] Why then did the socialist reorganization of agriculture become necessary in 1959?

[Answer] Because the reverse was also the case, namely, that agriculture did not have enough reserves to satisfy the population of a prospering country. When we assessed the state of the economy after the counterrevolution we realized that there would be no opportunity for improving the standard of living until the damages and losses had been corrected. We expected this to take about 2 years and, if I remember correctly, Comrade Kadar openly stated this in parliament in 1957. Nevertheless, when we evaluated the resources that were available at the end of 1958 and the beginning of 1959, it appeared that the development of industry would provide a noticeable improvement in the standard of living.

As far as I can remember the statistical office gave a report which said that for every wage increase of Ft100 there would have to be additional food stocks worth nearly Ft50 or, perhaps, even more. Hungarian agriculture was not capable of producing a yearly increase of this size. For this reason, we had to face the fact that even if the productive capacity of industry were to improve providing us with an opportunity for a wage increase on the basis of the general achievements of the people's economy, even then granting this wage increase would be risky if we could not create the full reserves needed for it.

[Question] This could have led to inflation.

[Answer] Yes, undoubtedly, it would have led to economic speculation, black marketeering, inflation and major economic troubles.

[Question] Thus it was necessary to carry out the organization of agricultural cooperatives between 1959 and 1962. One could provide a sharp contrast between the party organization of cooperatives between 1959 and 1960 on the one hand, and how they were organized in the Rakosi period.

[Answer] I believe that the details of the methods used in the earlier period are quite well-known. It may be forgotten how we assessed what sort of decisions we reached, how we reached them and what kind of methods we used. The Leninist principles, namely the principles of voluntarism and gradualism, were immediately given major weight in shaping our concepts. First of all, let me say we recognized and used as an important principle the battle waged in political life and in the settlement of the party's life. Although the two extremes in the party could not gain influence over the majority of the membership they have both left their impressions. The sectarian, dogmatic policy with its voluntarist concepts and the apparently immediate and speedy achievement of aims by its methods left its impressions behind just as there were impressions left by revisionism.

Naturally, I do not want to urge that every debate be seen in terms of right and leftwing deviations and concepts. However, in this case such a classification is not contrived. One of the views originating from the supporters of the old policies was that unless we made things difficult for the individual peasants by taxation and by weakening their conditions for production there would never be any cooperatives. Forgive me for the vulgar phrase, but they would say to each other that the peasants would have to be stripped down to their underwear. The other extreme tried to delay things and was opposed to carrying out even existing concepts. There was a third concept which would be difficult to classify, namely the so-called "economist concept."

[Question -- interrupting] What does that mean?

[Answer] This concept was based on the grounds that in the absence of suitable equipment and economic resources peasants joining cooperatives would not be able to carry out their work effectively. This would represent a further worsening of the credibility of the principle of cooperation. They were seeking reasons to justify the fact that we should only attempt to realize the reorganization at the greatest pace when we were able to create a situation in which we would provide suitable technical and financial resources for the newly formed cooperatives.

[Question] There is undoubtedly a rationale for this. After all, the reorganization was carried out continuously at a time when the industrial base for agriculture was not assured. This applied to mechanization as well.

[Answer] We are not only dealing with industry and the industrial base. The first cooperatives proceeded with animal husbandry just as it had been done on individual plots. They used the same or almost the same kind of equipment. The cooperatives combined the wealth and labor of the individuals, land, draught animals and other equipment necessary for agricultural production which had formerly belonged to their members. These small cooperatives had the kind of technology that was no more than the extension of the boundaries of a good size peasant's farm.

I would like to mention in the context on this concept, that the decisive and unambiguous majority in the MSZMP Central Committee represented another standpoint. This view was that if we considered as the perspective of forming cooperatives the fact that it would increase the peasant's standard of living then we would justly and with good reason define as the objective of cooperatives the elevation of the poor peasant to the level of the middle peasant. We considered this to be our aim and the majority of cooperatives achieved this goal very quickly, although this was not without occasional difficulties and complaints.

We understood the concept of gradualism in two senses. One sense was that cooperatives on a lower level should also be formed. Moreover, there should be other levels of cooperatives. The other levels involved, if you like, gradualism in terms of time. The reorganization took place within 3 years in such a way that the organization of cooperatives — and the work carried out in that direction -- was always carried out during the winter. Thus the dual objective of realizing the socialist reorganization and the stable production of Hungarian agriculture was achieved in such a way that production actually increased during those three years.

[Question] Thus with the reorganization of agriculture a period came to a close by 1962. Society attained a state of consolidation in which it became possible to analyze the lessons of the past. Where these two things connected or not? Was it merely an accident that they coincided?

[Answer] I think that their coincidence was accidental. It took time for the appropriate judicial organs to collect or replace the necessary documents for the review of fabricated trials and illegal procedures; incidentally, many of these documents went astray or got lost during the counterrevolution. The fact that the Central Committee dealt with this issue in 1962 and finally closed it meant that even after 6 years we did not permit the lessons which we viewed as the most serious ones regarding the mistakes of the party and the distortions of the party's policy to be forgotten.

[Question] The socialist reorganization of agriculture was a great historical period and a great historical act. I think that this period came to an end, or we can put an end to this period, in 1962.

[Answer] It can be asked with reason and justification how, after such a serious crisis in which people and political lines opposed each other very sharply, it was possible to carry through the consolidation relatively quickly. Perhaps an answer can be found in what has been said so far, namely, that the Hungarian people did not oppose the aims of socialism. In the times preceding the counterrevolution, and also in the period after it, we, reflecting on the affairs of the party and going through a serious crisis of conscience were wondering whether the trust in socialism and the hopes we awakened in the Hungarian people were not in fact suffering such damage that there would not be and could not be work of socialist construction for a very long time. It was possible for the consolidation to take place rapidly because the Hungarian working classses really did accept the socialist idea. After the stand by the party it was possible to make it apparent relatively quickly that, despite the very serious mistakes which compromised socialism, there was a possibility of making a fresh start. History gave us the chance to start again and I feel that both the people and the party have made the most of this chance to begin anew.

[Question] When did the party draft the first balance of the historic fresh start?

[Answer] Political development was such that in my opinion it was at the turn of the decade by which time a degree of unity had come about, a general agreement had come about which saw unity between the party and the people. The times for drafting the political balance are the party congresses. The seventh and eighth party congresses took place in 1939 and in 1962. The people's version of the balance went as follows: This meant in 1956, too, that the Hungarian people had accepted the idea of the cooperatives. The peasanty also respondend by saying: Just let things stay as they are, don't let the party's policy change.

The outstanding slogan of the 1962 congress was the policy of alliance, but this congress also put many important questions of socialist construction on the agenda. We placed the alliance of the working class and the peasantry on new bases, firm bases. Cooperation became increasingly fruitful and both working classes increasingly perceived that the jointly carried out socialist policy benefitted them. However, there were also elements in this which from the point of view of Marxist theory should not be included under the concept of the policy of alliance. Such elements included the principles that believers and atheists can work together for the building of socialism. This congress decided to abolish the categories of social origin, in other words, children were able to apply to schools without differentiation on the basis of their social origins. Another such element was that inasmuch as the members of the one-time ruling class ended their hostility, we would not hinder their adjustment to society. And, finally, the slogan of that period emerged that in a politically balanced situation when work in the sphere of industry, agriculture, the sciences and culture is in general in the service of socialist construction, then he who is not against us is with us. As people who were young then tell me now it seemed to them as if the world had opened up in those days.

OVARI, GYENES REPRESENT MSZMP AT MOSCOW TALKS

LD032322 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The Central Committee secretaries in charge of international and ideological issues of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries have started talks in Moscow. The Hungarian party is represented at the conference by Miklos Ovari, Andras Gyenes, Imre Gyori and Sandor Lakos.

KADAR MEETS WITH PDRY LEADER 'ALI NASIR MUHAMMAD

LD031232 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council had a meeting today with 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, head of state and government of People's Yemen and secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party. They reviewed the most important questions of bilateral cooperation and emphasized their readiness for the deepening of relations. They also discussed the main questions of the international situation with special regard to the Middle East and problems connected with the peace and security of the Gulf and Red Sea area.

BULGARIAN DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS WITH PPF

LD031222 Budapest MTI in English 1200 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 2 Nov (MTI) -- Talks opened between the PPF and the Bulgarian Fatherland Front [BFF] here today.

The Hungarian delegation is led by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary-general of the PPF Central Council. The Bulgarian side by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Politburo and BFF chairman.

The talks covered timely issues in the building of socialism in Hungary and Bulgaria, principal issues in world affairs and tasks in promoting cooperation between the two people's front movements.

Pencho Kubadinski and party arrived here today.

WALESA PLANS MEETINGS WITH GLEMP, JARUZELSKI

Walesa, Glemp Meet 2 Nov

NC031426 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, head of the independent trade union federation Solidarity, had a meeting here last night with the Roman Catholic primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp, Solidarity's Warsaw Branch announced here today in its news bulletin.

The news bulletin did not say what the meeting was about, and church officials refused to comment.

The encounter came on the eve of the Solidarity executive's meeting in Gdansk to consider a proposal limiting the right to strike and calling for establishment of a disciplinary board to expel Solidarity members who disobey the union.

Three-Way Meeting Scheduled

NC032128 Paris AFP in English 2109 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (AFP) -- Solidarity union federation leader Lech Walesa announced today that he will meet "probably tomorrow" with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski and Polish Primate Archbishop Jozef Glemp.

Mr Walea, speaking at the Solidarity executive meeting in Gdansk, said that notably food supplies and the respect of law would be discussed at this unprecedented meeting between leaders of the church, trades unions and the authorities.

He gave no further details.

Mr Walesa met Arthbishop Glemp yesterday. Mr Walesa later said he would tell the authorities that Solidarity believed there was "a lack of competence that the government is refusing to engage in serious dialogue with us."

He said he would discuss "all the problems" and press for negotiations to be started quickly.

Walesa Leaves for Warsaw

NC041115 Paris AFP in English 1109 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (AFP) -- Solidarity leader Lech Walesa left Gdansk for here today after confirming a three-way meeting later with Prime Minister and Communist Party leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the primate of the Catholic Church, Mosignor Jozef Glemp.

Before setting out for the capital by car at 11 a.m., Mr Walesa told 107 delegates attending a meeting of the union's National Coordinating Committee in this Baltic port that he would ask the general just one question: "Do you want to follow your people?"

Replying to criticism from some delegates that this meeting had been arranged "over the head" of the Coordinating Committee, the Solidarity leader reported: "If you want to strike instead of working, in two weeks time I will submit a motion to dissolve the union".

Meanwhile here in Warsaw, the bishop's office and General Jaruzelski's staff declined to confirm or deny the meeting would take place. Observers pointed out that it could not be scheduled before 4:00 p.m. as the drive from Gdansk takes at least four hours.

Observers pointed out here that if the three-way meeting took place and made progress on solving the country's social ills, this would be a major boost to Mr Walesa's influence.

Despite discontent in the Coordinating Committee today at what was resented as lack of consultation, Mr Walesa has achieved notable results this week in breaking wildcat strikes.

However, though workers have gone back to work in Tarnobrzeg and in Zyrardow after lengthy strikes, a project regulating strike action by the union is expected to have a tough time in the committee, and strikes are still in progress in Zielona Gora and in mines near Katowice.

A first project submitted today by Bogdan Lis and calling -- in accordance with Mr Walesa's wishes -- for an end to all regional strikes, to leave national union authorities in charge of solving any conflicts, was rejected by one vote.

Mr Walesa's concern to safeguard the unity of the federation and preserve its bargaining credibility is expected to be fought by regional leaders anxious to hold on to their powers, and who equate regional independence with democracy.

REPORTAGE OF SOLIDARITY KK MEETING 3 NOV

Discussion of Strike Rights

NC031403 Paris AFP in English 1325 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (AFP) -- The 107 members of Solidarity's National Coordination Commission, the independent union federation's governing body, met in Gdansk today to discuss a plan to regulate internal policies on the right to strike.

The talks began a day after a wildcat strike was suspended in the Tarnobrzeg region, about 200 kms (120 miles) south of Warsaw, and as unofficial walkouts continued in the western Zielona Gora region and the town of Zyrardow, 50 kms (30 miles) southwest of the capital.

Solidarity last week pleaded for an end to the strikes, which, it said, were a threat to the federation's unity. Some officials also expressed alarm that the federation's poor control over its members could hurt its bargaining power with the government.

The creation of a discipline commission which would alone have the power to allow strikes, and would authorize them only as a last resort, was to be discussed at the two-day meeting, chaired by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

If a local union defied the commission, the body could ask rank-and-file members to impose sanctions against their leadership. These could include temporary exclusion, it was reported.

The federation's leadership also plans to discuss discipline problems within Solidarity as part of the first agenda item on controlling wildcat strikes.

The second agenda item concerns discussion of a so-called "social council on the national economy," the creation of which is one of Solidarity's chief demands. So far, the government has resisted the principle of union oversight of the Polish economy.

The third matter to be discussed is an increase in retail prices, which is to take effect on January 1.

During the debate on internal organization, Solidarity officials were to discuss the case of Marian Jurszyk, who has been accused of calling Poland's leaders as "traitors to our homeland."

Mr Walesa said Mr Jurszyk would be called upon to explain his remarks during the congress. He has had no other comment on the statement.

Observers said the two days of talks could hold the key to future relations between Solidarity and the government. Tension between the two sides has stepped up in recent weeks, with the leadership cracking down on leaflet distribution and the union going ahead with one-hour nationwide warning strike last Wednesday.

Polish Party First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is also prime minister and defence minister, last week offered several proposals for cooperation in a speech before parliament. But he stressed that he was holding in abeyance legislation that would give authorities emergency powers if social agitation continued.

Strategy Discussed

LD031648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] During the morning session of the National Commission of Solidarity in Gdansk, the current situation in the country was discussed in the context of continued strike actions and union discipline. The commission heard reports from individual regions where strikes are in progress, or where an alert is in force. The women's delegation from Zyrardow appealed to the National Commission for support fo their strike demands.

In the discussion, opinion prevailed that local strikes not only do not lead to settlement of individual problems, but also harm the union in general and act against its unity. Some speakers, while agreeing with the opinion, pointed to the need to finally resolve problems which were the cause of earlier strikes, particularly in Zyrardow and Zielona Gora.

The main current in the discussion was the first to establish the union's general strategy. Is it to be a strategy of accord or a strategy of confrontation?

KK Spokesman on Session

LD032106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] As we have already reported a session of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity began in Gdansk today. During the morning session the present situation in the country in the context of the continuing and recently discontinued local strike actions and matters of intraunion discipline connected with this were discussed. The commission heard reports from individual regions where strikes are still in progerss or where a strike alert is still in force. A delegation of women from Zyrardow who appealed to the KK to support their strike demands took the platform during the session. Our Gdansk correspondent (Roman Luczkowski) reports in more detail on the Gdansk session of the KK.

[Begin recording] [Luczkowski] Taking advantage of the short break I have asked Mr Marek Brunne, press spokesman of the KK of NSZZ Solidarity, to say a few words into the microphone. Sir, there are basically no prospects for the session of the KK to end today since so far the discussion has centred around one point.

[Brunne] We are on the first point fo the program. This is an assessment of the current situation in the country from two points of view. Firstly, the current state of mutual relations with the administrative authorities of the state starting with the lower echelons and going as far as the highest echelons, in other words the government of the People's Republic of Poland; and secondly, the internal situation in the union against the backdrop of disputes which still exist in some local areas between regional authorities and unionists and Solidarity. There is also an assessment being made of the state of union discipline and of necessary actions or inaction in this respect because those speaking in the discussion are divided.

There are those who state in a resolute manner that the appeal of the KK Presidium is accepted among Solidarity members in their regions and by themselves. There are also those who state the direct opposite, that this [the KK Presidium appeal] is possibly not in order because it violates certain rights of the factory commissions and also of regional boards. And there are all the more who believe that foisting [words indistinct] discipline in this respect would, as it were, contradict the statute. However, in turn there are also those who argue the opposite very strongly saying that the consolidation of the ranks of the union and joint actions on a countrywide scale and the elimination or possibilities for uncoordinated conflicts...

[Luczkowski interrupts] Not to so much uncoordinated conflicts as local strikes which at the moment, when all is said and done, are disintegrating the trade union movement, I think.

[Brunne] There are those who say this. Nevertheless, one must say right here and now that such voices are in contradiction to the union statute which confers the right to stage strikes in individual regions to regional boards. The factory commissions are required to consult with the regional board, however. The regional board is for them the supreme authority. If they gain the permission of the regional board they can do what they want. Nevertheless, there is this very strong undercurrent in the discussion which subscribes, as it were, to the appeal and to the reasons which the presidium used (?in) its appeal to halt strike action and to consolidate the ranks for greater purposes that affect all of our public -- the whole of Poland.

The KK as such lent an ear to the representatives of these individual boards; however, on the matter -- what does it think of this strike -- there will be or won't be a resolution. [sentence as heard] In any case there is no position on this and personally I don't have one either because, as you have heard, this subject is also being discussed. So perhaps a middle-of-the-road opinion will emerge but this is not yet certain. [end recording]

Wrap-up of KK Session

LD032330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Just before 2100 the session of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity ended in Gdansk. Of necessity the first report by Roman Luczkowski is very brief.

[Luczkowski] The debates of the National Commission NSZZ Solidarity went on for nearly 10 hours and concentrated mainly on the assessment of the current situation in the context of local strikes still taking place in some regions of the country. These strikes certainly have bearing on the slackening of union discipline. As transpires from the course of discussion so far, opinion on the subject is divided. Generally, representatives of regions where tension prevails support local strikes. They recognize the right of protest actions and see in them the only way to secure their demands. In the other current in the discussion, the justification for the consolidation of trade union movement is being stressed as is the need for the coordination with the National Commission for this type of action. Let us recall that on the eve of the plenary debates the Presidium of the National Commission addressed a call to the regional boards to halt the strike actions.

Until the conclusion of today's debates, the Commission of Motions and Resolutions was only able to draw up the skeleton of a general resolution which contains eight points which speak, among other things, about the existing tension in the country caused by the incompetent operation of the apparatus of authority, and also by the shortages in food supply, particularly of meat, which led to the strike actions.

One of the points states that the union cannot give up the struggle to institutionalize the process of democratization in the country. The draft resolution also states that the union has noted statements contained in the speech by Premier Jaruzelski announcing his readiness to form control institutions as mentioned at the last Sejm session; however, according to the draft, these should be equipped with proper powers, they should be established democratically; and the union accepts the government offers as a preliminary stance of the authorities for talks with the union.

The National Commission, the draft continues, should immediately start negotiations concerning access to the mass media. Also, the union will strive to ensure authentic worker self-management and regional self-management by ensuring democratic elections.

These are, as I mentioned before, only precepts of the main draft resolution of the National Commission, which will also include resolutions concerning the suspension of lifting of strike actions in individual regions of the country.

The discussion on the draft will be continued tomorrow.

Additional Coverage

LD041214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] In Gdansk, the plenum of the Solidarity National Commission continues. We go over to our reporter Piotr (Paczkowski):

I remind you that the subject matter of the 2-day session of NSZZ Solidarity's National Commission embraces four issues: assessment of the sociopolitical situation of the country, intraunion discipline, the union's attitude to setting up a social council on national economy, and price rises.

During yesterday's debate, Stanislaw (Szymkowiak) from Zielona Gora, speaking about the causes of the strike in Lubogora, emphasized the appalling working conditions of agricultural workers and the inadmissible way, in his view, they are treated by their superiors. Other members of the National Commission stressed obsessively the hostile attitude toward Solidarity shown by the director of the agricultural works in Lubogora, emphasizing his inefficient way of managing and autocratic way of running things.

A delegation of women textile workers, who as is known have been on strike for 23 days, arrived to take part in the Gdansk session. The textile workers said there is no point in their going back home if their problems are not settled in a concrete and definite way.

At this point, Andrzej Gwiazda warned that if the National Commission does not do anything for its members a time will come when it will be taken away in wheelbarrows.

The next issue: Proposals were made on several occasions during the discussion that the premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, should be invited to the session of the Solidarity National Commission. The issue was eventually submitted in the form of a proposal, which was rejected. In this situation successive speakers proposed that the National Commission should go to Warsaw. We cannot allow for a conflict to occur without first exhausting the possibilities of reaching agreement with the authorities, said Miroslaw Krupinski. The Fifth Central Committee Plenum and the Sejm session opened up such a path.

Grzegorz Palka, National Commission Presidium representative for talks with the government, stated that each local strike is a blow to the union. He added that local protests should be ended at all costs and only then will it be possible to speak of partner negotiations.

Chairman Lech Walesa, polemizing with Andrzej Gwiazda, said local strikes are harmful and can break up Solidarity. Discussing the issue of setting up a social council on national economy, it was said it is necessary to take government proposals into account; at the same time, however, entering into talks with representatives of scientific milieus, the collegium of rectors and the Episcopate.

So much, in brief, for the first day of the session. The resumption of the Solidarity National Commission Plenum has been announced for 1000 today.

Conflict-Solving Resolution

LD041340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The Solidarity Nation Commission is continuing its deliberations in Gdansk. Stanislaw Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the union, presented organizational issues. Next, a resolution concerning the solving of current conflicts was adopted. It has been decided to set up several negotiating teams, with the participation of representatives of the National Commission, which will be sent to various regions in order to solve conflicts there. The union's stand on the issue of price rises will also be presented during the session. Grzegorz Palka will report on this issue.

Jurczyk Affair Not Discussed

LD031942 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Unidentified correspondent's dispatch from Gdansk]

[Text] The Solidarity National Commission is holding debates in Gdansk. The situation in the country and the union to date constitutes the only subject of the discussion. The agenda includes discussion of the concept of a social council of national economy and of the price rises.

The National Commission spokesman said it was deemed inadvisable to raise in this forum the matter of Marian Jurczyk, in order not to interfere with the prosecutor's investigations being conducted.

Although it is not yet possible to define what the decisions will look like, as regards Solidarity's next actions, a certain line of conduct is already emerging. This line is the recognition of the urgent need to undertake talks with the government, the assumption by the National Commission of all problems of the workforces and circles striking at present, and the simultaneous extinguishing of protest actions.

Attention is drawn to the very strong trend toward disciplining and subordinating all union activity. The debates will also be conducted tomorrow.

Articles on Jurczyk

LD031540 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (PAP) -- "The contents of the speech delivered by Solidarity member Marian Jurczyk at the Trzebiatow furniture factory came as no surprise. There was nothing new except for the announcement of the so-called active strike. Over the past months we have noted many instances of slanderous remarks addressed to the Polish Government, denigration of the Soviet Union, blackmail and threats of the gallows," said the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

"What Marian Jurczyk said is after all the condensed essence of opinions and utterances of various Solidarity petty politicians expressed on various occasions in the past.

During his recent visit to Zielona Gora the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa declared that desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers is provocation. I agree with Mr Walesa, says the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI commentator, that it is provocation, and it is inspired, among others, by such activists as Solidarity member Marian Jurczyk. For it is hard to judge differently his statement on the 'artificial friend' -- the Soviet Union," said the daily's commentator.

In another article on the same subject ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote:

"This begs the question of how such political degeneration could become a fact in that man and how can he be trusted to be leader of the Solidarity Szczecin chapter?

"All at once a man emerges in Solidarity for whom there are no recognized legislative or government authorities, but all are traitors. For statements offending the supreme state authorities and the entire nation everybody must answer in conformity with the law. This law should be applied to Mr Jurczyk," said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Call To End Strikes Rejected

NC040635 Paris AFP in English 0624 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 4 Nov (AFP) -- The leadership of the Solidarity independent trade union federation rejected a call by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa to end all wildcat strikes and solve conflicts through a special committee which alone would decide on ways to express protest.

A draft resolution for the plan was rejected at a meeting here late Tuesday.

The vice-president of Solidarity's Warsaw branch, Seweryn Jaworski, denounced the proposal when it was read, saying no "honest" person could decently support it.

As a result of the rejection, heated debates were expected when the meeting resumes later today.

Mr Walesa had warned that if the wildcat strikes continued, Solidarity would lose its credibility and the leadership "including myself will have no choice but to go home."

He said the committee would "not have to do with limiting strikes but with calling them only for the most important problems."

Mr Walesa also announced that he would "probably" meet today with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Archbishop Jozef Glemp, Roman Catholic primate of Poland. The meeting would be unprecedented since the start of the current labour crisis.

Speaking after the Solidarity conference, Mr Walesa said that if he could not talk to the premier and the archbishop at the same time, he would meet them separately.

Sources close to the organization's leadership said the meeting could take place in Warsaw in the parliament building.

The most important problems behind the current wildcat strikes, particularly food shortages, would be discussed, Mr Walesa said.

He also said he would press for negotiations to be started quickly between Solidarity and the government. "Let's have a little faith. Serious negotiations must be started because winter is approaching," Mr Walesa said.

TROOPS PERFORM MANEUVERS WITH SOVIET ARMY

LD032118 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] [Sound of gunfire] At the open-air training grounds and drill squares there are soldiers of the armored and mechanized troops, artillery men, pilots and reconnaissance troops. This is how every autumn day of combat training looks: bad weather. In the difficult conditions they perfect their capabilities for command and cooperation among various kinds of troops.

In the Silesian Military Region it is the period of joint planned maneuvers by Polish units with those of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army troops.

This time a crossing over a wide water obstacle has been prepared by Soviet sappers. Because of this the Polish unit was able to accelerate the execution of the next task. The counterattack against a simulated opponent was successfully concluded.

MATERIALS CONCERNING INTERNAL STRIKE SITUATION

Rakowski: 'Forces' Seek Power

LD031912 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] A conference of voivodship activists has taken place in Sieradz. It discussed the implementation of the decisions adopted by the fourth and fifth plenums.

The meeting was attended by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. In his speech he discussed the situation in the country and stated that there are forces which are staking on economic and social destruction, as they see in Poland's disintegration the way to seize power. That is why, in his opinion, all the government anticrisis measures are being blocked by the Solidarity leaders. Such actions will lead to the downfall of Poland or to a chronic crisis. Partnership cannot be like that, Deputy Premier Rakowski stated.

Authorities Ready to Negotiate

LD032332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier and member of the PZPR Central Committee, attended today's conference of political and economic activists of Sieradz Voivodship, which dealt with the country's present situation and with conclusions arising from the Fourth Central Committee Plenum decisions for party work. The speakers pointed to the need for resolute measures to be adopted by the authorities in order to extricate the country from the social and political crisis. Reference was also made to the disarray which cannot always be related to the crisis situation.

At the end of the discussion, Deputy Premier Rakowski stated among other things that today there is no target worth striking for. The authorities are still prepared to sit down at the table to resolve by constructive discussion all problems affecting Poland and the Poles.

The resolution adopted at the end of the conference expresses support for government activity and readiness to defend the unshaken attainments of People's Poland, motherland of all who do not oppose socialism.

Situation in Various Areas

LD031924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Here are the latest reports from our correspondents and PAP related to the situation today in various regions of the country.

The strikes at the key Zyrardow factories and the Mszczonow clothing factory [words indistinct] continue. Due to the efforts of the voivodship authorities, the original demands of the Zyrardow workers pertaining to the improvement of food supplies have been satisfied. PAP adds that the present attempts to come to an agreement are being thwarted by the controversial issue of payment for the strike period.

The strike of the workforces in one of the mechanical processing sections of they Klodawa salt mine, in Konin Voivodship, ended at noon today. Work has been resumed there after the signing by the strike committee, assisted by the Workers' Council, the Party Enterprise Committee and representatives of Solidarity of an agreement with the management which has undertaken to fulfill by 10 November the demand that an increased allocation of meant and fats should embrace all grade one employees. The strikers have promised to make good the output losses before the end of November.

According to reports from Tarnobrzeg, since the decision to suspend the strike in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, all factories in the area have resumed work. An interministerial commission is conducting talks with the regional Solidarity strike committee, the Sandomierz chapter.

The situation in the Zielona Gora Voivodship is unchanged. The general strike proclaimed by the regional executive of Solidarity, in support of part of the workforce from the Lubogora agricultural enterprise, which demands that its managers should be recalled from their posts, continues.

Since the stay in Zielona Gora of the ministerial commission led by the Vice Minister of Agriculture Andrezj Kacala no talks have materialized there between representatives of the authorities and the regional strike committee.

Our Radom correspondent Andrezej Medrzycki reports that the strike of Solidarity and of the Independent Students Association at the Radom Higher School of Engineering continues. Those occupying the administration building demand that the newly appointed administrator should be recalled, a secret referendum should be arranged on the electoral law variants and that there should be new elections for an administrator.

Miners' Strike Discussed

LD040038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The strike at Sosnowiec coalmine completed its seventh day. A meeting of the party aktiv at the mine proposed that a referendum should be held among the workforce concerning a continuation of the strike. The party aktiv expressed the hope that the strike committee would consider this suggestion, also proposed that the trade unions, with the participation of the mine administration, should organize the referendum.

The throwing of vials containing tetrahydrobiophon near the mine, said Jan Zielinski, first secretary of the local party committee in Sosnowiec who attended the meeting, constitutes a repugnant act of political terrorism. He gave the assurance that all the problems connected with this outrageous incident and with the strike action at the Sosnowiec mine are constantly the focus of attention by the authorities. Investigative organs are conducting intensive inquiries. Everything will be precisely reconstructed and thoroughly elucidated. This strike is not doing anyone any good, it was repeated on several occasions during the discussion; it is not doing any good either to NSZZ Solidarity, the party, the miners and their families, or the public at large.

Talks Open in Stalowa Wola

LD031212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Talks between the interministerial commission and the regional strike committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Sandomierz region began at 0900 today in the house of culture at the local steelworks in Stalowa Wola. The talks were made possible by the fact that the general strike, which lasted 13 days in this region, was suspended yesterday by industrial enterprises of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. Strike readiness is still in force, however. The progress of negotiations will decide whether it will be called off.

The interministerial commission which has come to Stalowa Wola is headed by Jan Jablonski, deputy minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection; voivodship authorities are represented by Wladyslaw Bobek, the Tarnobrzeg voivoda.

The talks in Stalowa Wola will be quite difficult because they concern the whole complex of demands by work enterprises of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, which cannot be settled on a temporary basis since they are connected with the entire economy of the voivodship. Such issues have been placed, among others, on the agenda as problems of supplies and rationing, law and order, housing construction and protection of the environment.

Zielona Gora Situation Same

LD040828 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The situation in Zielona Gora Voivodship remains unchanged. The general strike proclaimed by the regional board of Solidarity in support of some of the workforce from the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora demanding that their directors be recalled from their posts continues. We have been informed that the Lubogora conflict, which is the cause of the general strike in the voivodship, is on the agenda of the Solidarity National Commission's session which started today in Gdansk.

Strike in Zyrardow Ends

LD040906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] And now some news from Zyrardow. The production director of the flax plant in Zyrardow told us by telephone that the interfactory Strike Committee in the Zyrardow region announced at 0400 today that the strike in enterprises in Zyrardow and Mszczonow had ended. The decision was made as a result of receiving the following statement from the Solidarity National Commission:

The Solidarity National Commission agrees to exact full payment for workers who are on strike in Zyrardow and Mszczonow if the strike is ended immediately.

The Interfactory Strike Committee in the Zyrardow region, in agreement with enterprises in Zyrardow and Mszczonow, suspends the strike at 0400 today. However, strike readiness is maintained until a final document is signed with government plenipotentiaries which will guarantee the implementation of the submitted demands.

We have been informed that the first shift began work at 0600.

Tarnobrzeg Resumes Production

LD040340 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The chemical plant in Police is threatened by a halt in the production of phosphorous fertilizers. This is directly influenced by the half in the delivery of sulphur from Tarnobrzeg. Let us recall that the workforces producing this material are striking. The executive and the active of the party factory committee in Police have appealed to the striking workers in Tranobrzeg to resume production.

After acquainting themselves with the contents of this appeal, the workforce at Tarnobrzeg combine sent 2,000 tons of sulphur to Police yesterday. It was stated that similar deliveries will continue.

COMMENTARY ON PROLONGING 'MOMENTARY THAW'

LD031835 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Do you believe that the concept of accord may be resurrected?

To this question asked by the editors of POLITYKA Lech Walesa replied: A Pole will always come to an agreement with a Pole and if not, then the guilty party assumes an enormous responsibility. We are ready to talk at any moment. That interview was conducted at the beginning of last month, and published on 17 October this year. Since then much has changed in our country. Above all, we have not grown closer to one another but, on the contrary, further apart.

The temporary suspension of the strike in Tarnobrzeg region and in other regions does not mean that the flashpoints of conflict have been extinguished and its causes eliminated, but a breakthrough in the deadlock is still important.

The suspension was achieved as a result of the mediation mission of Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity National Commission. At the meeting with the Siarkopol workforce he stated that he hoped that this Wednesday the three flashpoints of Zielona Gora, Zyrardow and Tarnobrzeg will be extinguished. Lech Walesa did not question the justification for the demands of the strikers; nevertheless, he appealed to them to maintain calm and to suspend the action.

Does the realistic stance of the Solidarity National Commission chairman bear withness to the fact that we can already speak of a breakthough in the deadlock and of the proximity of the [word indistinct] idea of national accord? Or is this only a momentary thaw? If this is only a thaw, then it is also necessary to avail ourselves of this opportunity, and above all to prolong this moment as much as possible. Otherwise, the successive round of the struggle may lead us to disaster.

COURT OVERRULES CENSORSHIP OF SOLIDARITY ARTICLES

LD032304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The Supreme Court today considered the first appeal against the decision by the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances since the time when the new censorship law came into effect.

With such a motion the TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has appealed to the Supreme Court; it had intended to print in its columns a statement by Lublin "Polmozbyt" employees containing a positive assessment of the so-called independent publications.

Both the regional and the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances objected to the contents of this statement and did not allow it to be printed. As the basis for the decision was the conviction that the praise contained in the statement for the so-called independent publications which, contrary to the censorship law are not subjected to control, constitutes a violation of Article No 282 of the penal code.

The Supreme Court revoked the decision of the control organs, since it sees in the statement no offense according to Article No 282 of the penal code but rather a misdemeanor, which does not offer a platform for an objection to the text on the basis of the article No 2, Point No 6 of the censorship law.

As a PAP journalist has stressed, this verdict should not be understood under any circumstance as approval for the so-called independent publications. The verdict is by no means a political evaluatuion, or an assessment of the social value of these publications, but is concerns exclusively one specific case connected with the above mentioned statement.

It states only that praising independent publications is not an offense but only a misdemeanor. The censorship law, on the other hand, introduces a ban on publishing all kinds of statements which praise or call for the perpetration of offenses.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS SOLIDARITY PROGRAM, ATTITUDES

PM033147 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Oct 81 pp 3-4

[Jerzy Salecki article: "Oppose the Authorities?"]

[Text] 1. When, toward the end of the Solidarity congress, a discussion was initiated on drafting the trade union's demands with respect to the scope and form of nursery school welfare and family benefits, Jacek Borokwski, a member of the Committee for Social Policy Affairs, stated curtly: "We are drafting the trade union's program, not the governments', and will set ourselves the objectives which we wish to achieve, not realistic objectives suggested to be used by the government."

I quote this excerpt from a speech made by the delegate from Piotrkow Trybunalski not in order to criticize the content of the trade union's program devoted to the question of nursery school welfare and family benefits. Solidarity's objectives, which include the admittance of all children to nursery schools and a high standard of care for children at school and, as far as the second issue is concerned, the inclusion of as many families as possible in a benefits scheme and the increase of benefit rates in such a way that they really play a considerable role in family budgets in general and those of unmarried mothers in particular, are justifiable on the ground of public interest and deserve general approval.

However, even though the people who drafted the program are eager to emphasize its originality, there is, in fact, nothing new in it. The above-mentioned demands put forward by Solidarity are either similar to or even identical with previously formulated long-term objectives of both the party and the government, which would like to make nursery schools more accessible, increase allowances and so on. Logically, these similarities should lead to cooperation between the state administration and trade unionists -- yes, cooperation instead of independent action prompted by a desire to set the "trade union concept" apart from an essentially s'milar "state concept."

Because of its, in my view, disturbing typicality, J. Borkowski's statement deserves to be calmly analyzed. For even though, in accordance with the meaning of the renewal of political life, you can only commend the fact that the trade union program is not merely a copy of the government program, it is surely difficult to accept that trade unionists should be proud of the fact that economic and social realities -- the above-mentioned "realistic objectives" -- which the government took into consideration when preparing its package deal relating to social matters have been ignored. A certain inverted voluntarism, mistrust of the state and hostility toward its institutional structures are apparent in Borkowski's statement (and also in a number of resolutions adopted in the Oliwia conference room). For it would be difficult to interpret in any other way a speech made by Grzegorz Palka from Lodz, who, discussing the trade union's draft program for setting up a social economic council, criticized it on the following grounds:

"It seems," he said, "that it is to be set up by the Sejm and therefore it could become yet another front organization.... Such a council (should be) set up by Solidarity -- and, in my opinion, the allegation that we are seeking power is demagogic. Such a council must be under the trade union's control...."

2. All this would present no problem -- citizens are entitled not to love the authorities. Furthermore, remembering the generally known catalog by the authorities both older and more recent errors, mistakes, evasions and prevarications by the authorities you can even accept that there have been some formal grounds for such mistrust and hostility. However, the main thing is that any trade union leader has willy-nilly to think in much wider terms, on the scale of a 10-million-strong Solidarity and even on the scale of the entire community.

And, from the viewpoint of the interests of the entire nation, there can be no doubt that the mistrust and hostility which have been continuously demonstrated and deliberately shown may preclude or at least hinder activities advantageous to the entire community -- that is, the achievement of the objectives included both in the maximalist demands put forward by Solidarity and in the pragmatic and, at the same time, long-term party program which represents the basis of the government's plans.

3. As in any other country throughout the world, any program drafted by a trade union (or especially by an organization calling itself a social movement) is bound to be and indeed is of political significance. Achieving objectives -- that is what politics are mainly about. However, any mobilizing of the masses in support of demagogic and unrealistic slogans or demands is bound to make it impossible to achieve any objectives and will merely create confusion.

With millions of working people among its members, Solidarity must implement a realistic political program. And this should eventually mean not only determining and formulating demands but also a readiness to cooperate with the state. What I understand by this is not trite loyalty and mere acquiescence but a clash of opinions in the name of accepted values and a dogged search, even during disputes, for a common viewpoint, a desire to improve and alter the existing structures and ameliorate the government machinery, as well as support for any -- even imperfect -- initiative taken by the authorities to overcome the crisis. However, Solidarity has been showing an inclination to question anything that is "theirs" and even to question the minutes of agreements and records which it and the government had jointly agreed. The misgivings now expressed by Solidarity, following months of negotiations and the Sejm decisions, with respect to the censorship law and the self-management and enterprise law have prompted a question of topical interest -- can the trade union now engaged in negotiations be relied on to be a dependable partner?

"A young man, leader of a regional Solidarity organization, recently put forward various demands. He demanded good labor organization, effective production and fair distribution of the national income. However, he did not say from whom he was demanding all this. From bureaucrats?! But they merely follow instructions, they do not produce anything. And who does produce...?"

This is what Kisiel, the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY columnist, wrote in a July edition of that weekly, long before the "coal conflict" which has made it so much more difficult to stretch the short economic blanket, about those demands or rather a certain stereotyped form of thought on the part of people who have been putting forward more and more demands addressed to the state. It is easy to formulate a program loaded with demands but the problem is "who produces?" and -- something of equal importance -- how much he produces, of what quality and at what cost.

It is difficult to imagine a situation where it would be possible to give any satisfactory answer to the questions asked by the community on the subject of "production," which are of decisive importance in daily life, while the need for the existence of the institutions which constitute the state apparatus and determine its ordering, regulating, legislative and controlling functions, if nothing else, was not accepted.

4. I do not claim that all the members of our government are without exception either men of genius or at least irreplaceable. The fact that heads of departments have continually been changed in recent months supports this thesis. However, it is self-evident that a government has to govern. What would it become if it accepted the proposal put forward by the above-mentioned Grzegorz Palka that something like a supervisory council be created to supervise the government? What sort of government and what sort of Sejm would we have?

I do not claim that the Education Department, which has so far been unable to shed the odium of its past joyful activities (the 10-year plan, communal and comprehensive schools, new programs and so forth) has ascended to any great heights. But should it therefore be accepted that the creation of a "hat" over the building in Larmii Wojska Polskiego Avenue is the only remedy for the weaknesses of the ministry and the Polish education system? This is what was bluntly stated in the "resolution" devoted to national education:

"NSZZ Solidarity will demand...continuous participation by the trade union's National Education Council in decisionmaking at all levels of the management of the education system. Furthermore, NSZZ Solidarity will support any initiative aimed at establishing complete social control over the system of education and training in Poland."

I am prepared to acknowledge that these intentions are laudable but I call for commonsense. A commonsense with which trade union politicians and activists, as well as parents, should be endowed. People are and will remain only people! Any "social control" at elementary or secondary school level would incapacitate teachers and make them -- as it happened in the past -- easily swayed by pressures, connections, and arrangements. I believe that confrontation with reality would show that the aforementioned theses are obviously illogical since it happens that there are tens of thousands of Solidarity members among the people working in the sphere of education and training. Could they therefore not achieve a renewal by themselves by raising qualifications, preparing good educational programs, setting a good example and writing excellent textbooks; in short, by improving Polish education? It is necessary to set up yet another control mechanism, yet another organ (the trade union's national education council) which -- as happened in the past -- will have rights and claim privileges but will bear no responsibility?

5. Let us assume that the thesis relating to the so-called party monopoly as shown in state activities is correct. Let us also therefore accept that the "monopoly" has resulted in certain losses and mistakes in the state's functioning. But a trend has now appeared in the Solidarity program toward creating a kind of monopoly similar to the one criticized, the only difference being that the party and state "monopoly" is to be replaced by a monopoly of trade union control and supervision.

However, what the community expects is democracy. That is, good institutions -- good because of highly qualified and idealistic cadres committed to their work -- and none of this can be ensured even by 10 councils and 100 social controls. In other words, tolerance for various concepts and views, provided that the implementation of these concepts and views serves Socialist Poland (according to the Solidarity program, a "self-managing" Poland with a socialized economic and management system). That is to say, a broadening of civil rights and individual freedoms limited only by general, national interests. That is to say, unity in heartfelt thinking and diligent work for Poland while dissimilarities in people's attitudes, views, sympathies and antipathies, differences and quarrels but only "quarrels among Poles" are allowed to exist.

Lech Walesa, who was irritated at one point by the general discussion during the congress, stated curtly:

"So far all the resolutions have merely created chaos and have not been constructive. It appears from all the broadcast commentaries -- I listen to the radio -- that the government is waiting for us. And we are giving no answer but merely oppose everything. This is not the right attitude either...."

6. In the materials of Solidarity's congress there are certain statements with which it is hard to agree and some others with which it is impossible to agree. It is hard to accept without reservations a statement concerning national culture which includes the following passage: "We are determined...to declare war on discrimination in the sphere of culture and art irrespective of whether it concerns people, ideas or trends and irrespective of the forms which it assumes and of its origin...." If mankind consisted only of perfect people this concept would be most worthy, but it would be easy to mention a couple of dozen genuinely creative artists -- neither scribblers nor daubers -- who, while forming some intellectually sophisticated ideas and being significant writers thanks to their outstanding abilities, have left behind work glorifying fascism, anti-Semitism or racism. It is necessary to fight for democracy also in the spheres of science, art and culture. But it is also necessary to protect democracy by, among other things, discriminating against its enemies.

And -- to use an obvious example -- it is impossible to agree with a statement summing up, as it were, the past 36 years in the sphere of the educational and training system which says that the sphere "was monopolized by the state...and was alien to the Polish nation's desires and values...."

At this point, you would like to call out: Delegates, after all, most of you have been educated in People's Poland! How could you vote in support of such theses? Many criticisms can be voiced with respect to programs, textbooks, the quality of cadres, the state of schools, mistakes, neglects and even falsehoods, but both you, yourselves, and your children owe something to the "regime's educational system." In a sense it was thanks to it that you have been able to oppose a bad government and fight for flawless social justice. What then is the reason for such an untrue and unfair generalization?!

Has the liquidation of illiteracy or the training of engineers and doctors been alien to the nation's desires? Some may say that this is a poor argument and demagoguery since we are now changing the emphasis and content of human sciences, that the interpretation of many events has changed and that history and liberature are only now achieving their true dimension. All right, but let me again quote Kisel, whom it would be difficult to suspect of an excessive liking for the postwar system:

"I have fought for many years...for the right to the whole historical truth. However, this cannot be enough -- is this exactly the right time to erect monuments..." (TYDZIEN POWSZECHNY No 28).

It appears that it is because a group of Solidarity activists has proposed that a monument to Polish mothers be erected, forgetting, it seems, that just such a monument has already been erected in Raciborz, where Silesian mothers have taught successive generations love for and faith and hope in all that is Polish. Must an "independent view" emerge also in this sphere and are two monuments necessary to one and the same symbol -- a "regime" one and immediately, therefore, "our" own trade union ones?...

7. I do not want -- far from it -- to attach excessive importance to words -- especially words said in the heat of discussion and in an atmosphere reminiscent of auctions where everyone wants to show that he is the more courageous than anyone else and makes the most forceful statements. Nor, in recalling opposition to certain ideas and concern at certain concepts, do I intend to demonize words in the resolution, motions and statements, even though "a word flies out like a bird but later grows into an ox." Practice and concrete facts will settle everything. Who has not been pleased by the information that the Olsztyn conflict has been resolved and who -- without paying too much attention to reservations and imponderables -- has not welcomed the cancellation of the state of strike readiness in Bydgoszcz, but what attitude will Solidarity adopt toward the government's idea of setting up a mixed commission to hold negotiations on problems concerning food supplies?... Will the present guerrilla warfare continue, as it did in the past in connection with the control of goods, cigarettes and coal once demanded but now criticized by the trade union?...

After its congress and after adopting its program, Solidarity has found itself face to face with the state. The state means the government, whose room for maneuver is limited by objective factors, departments which have not been free of errors, a not always effective administration and institutions, with all their weaknesses. The state authorities want to gradually overcome all these weaknesses because, despite all these shortcomings, this is our own Polish state. And it is difficult to forget that PZPR members, people belonging to other parties, people who belong to no party, members of the "Branch" and "Autonomous" Trade Unions and -- the most numerous -- Solidarity members are active and work in its structure, starting with the Sejm and ending with thousands of village administrators, believers and unbelievers. Those people and not some abstract idea shape the state's image. And whether that image is good or not so good will depend on the people, their attitudes and their work, not on any abstract or demonic conditions.

Recently, high-flown vocabulary has been used increasingly infrequently. However, historical responsibility can now be mentioned without any fear of exaggeration, for the nation, Poland and socialism. This responsibility has to be borne by all citizens representing the Polish state, including, to no lesser degree, the citizens who lead the biggest Polish trade union.

The verification of Solidarity's program documents and the way in which it acts in practice will not only determine the quality of contacts with the authorities but also that trade union's place and role in our common state.

SOLIDARITY OFFICE IN NEW YORK SUSPENDS ACTIVITY

LD031850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] According to American sources, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, who several weeks ago announced the opening in New York of the Solidarity Information and Press Office, recently made a statement in which he declares that he has been informed by Solidarity that in the present circumstances it considers that such an office in New York is not desirable. In view of the above, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz said, the office suspended its activity on 30 October.

INDUSTRIAL TU COMMISSION VIEWS PRICE INCREASES

LD031934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The Executive Committee of the National Cooperation Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions met in Warsaw today. Among other things, the planned price increases for food, alcohol and liquid fuels were discussed. The committee said that materials provided by the State Price Commission concerning retail price increases for alcohol and liquid fuels should be returned to the commission without comment because these materials do not adequately cover the whole issue, and clearly depart from the stance presented by Ministers Knapik and Krasinski.

As far as the price proposals for food are concerned, the Executive Committee has decided to submit them to individual unions for discussion.

JARUZELSKI MAKES UNANNOUNCED VISIT TO SIEDLCE

LD031430 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, is visiting Siedlce Voivodship today. He is touring several parishes of this region. The aim of this unannounced visit is to get to know the situation in the countryside first hand. Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the state agricultural farm in Mienia and then went to Kaluszyn. He acquainted himself there with the work of municipal and parish offices. He watched people, mainly farmers, settling their business. The local operational group which is active here reported to the premier. Next, Wojciech Jaruzelski went to Siedlce. In all the premier's talks and meetings so far, matters of agriculture, countryside and food economy have predominated.

More on Visit

LD031948 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spent several hours today in the parishes of Seidlce Voivodship. The aim of this unannounced visit was to get firsthand knowledge of the problems which preoccupy the inhabitants of the countryside, farmers, employees of the socialized sector of agriculture and also workforces in food economy enterprises.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the Siedlce Voivodship was filled with honest talks with the population, an exchange of views and opinions on the possibility of a speedy increase in agricultural production which depends on satisfying the needs of the countryside and of agriculture, [as heard] especially for coal, construction materials and agricultural production means.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee visited a state agricultural farm in Mienia in which a large breeding farm of egg-laying hens plays a key role. General Jaruzelski was also interested in the possibilities of increasing production on this farm.

Wojciech Jaruzelski then went to Kaluszyn. In the municipal and parish office there he took a close look at the character of and means for dealing with various complaints and proposals from the population. He also heard reports which representatives of the local operational group presented to him.

Many topical and important observations connected with the current situation in agriculture were presented to the first secretary of the Central Committee during his talk with a group of farmers, members of a supervisory council of a parish cooperative in Kaluszyn.

The next place General Jaruzelski visited in the Siedlce Voivodship was a meat-processing factory in Sokolow Podlaski. The first secretary of the Central Committee also visited a sugar refinery in Sokolow Podlaski.

On the way back to Warsaw, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee visited one of the private agricultural farms. Zofia and Stanislaw Gregorczyk, who run a 4 hectare farm in the village of Brzozow, played host to the premier.

Wojciech Jaruzelski was asked by a PAP journalist to share his reflections on his visit to the Siedlce Voivodship. He said, among other things: Talking about this on the spot I can state that I saw life with all its splendors and miseries, with good and evil. I acquainted myself with the numerous difficulties faced by the inhabitants of the countryside and by agriculture. But I also came to see that we have a great chance to overcome these difficulties. It is not by accident that my inspection, so to speak, concerned everything connected with agriculture, with the problems faced by the inhabitants of the countryside and by the food industry. This is, after all, the sorest area from a social point of view. Following this visit, I have strengthened my conviction that the path we are following to resolve these issues is the right path. Resolutions and decisions will not improve the situation on their own. We are counting on the fact that these decisions will meet with a positive response, that they will have a positive influence on the processes taking place both in the countryside and in industry. We have at our disposal something that we must all remember, significant trump cards. I got to know, above all, many wise people who are capable of making sacrifices and who want to work, men of action who in these present difficult conditions are trying to overcome difficulties effectively, at least in their own field. I also realized even more fully where there are gaps which are halting the overcoming of economic difficulties. I am thinking here of coal, of the shortage in construction materials, or of farmers' needs for machines which are insufficiently satisfied. At the same time, we must realize the great unutilized reserves which exist. I am personally very pleased that local operational groups have been well received by the community which I could see with my own eyes. I have the conviction that these groups will carry out their responsible duties well, as has been the case so far.

The following were with Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Siedlce Voivodship: Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski and Minister of Agriculture Jerzy Wojtecki.

PZPR OFFICIALS ATTEND LOCAL PARTY MEETINGS

Rakowski Speaks in Sieradz

LD040210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The tasks of party echelons and organizations after the fourth and fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenums were the subject of the conference of party activists in the Sieradz Voivodship yesterday. The deputy for Sieradz and member of the party Central Committee, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, was present.

Assessing the situation in the area, First Secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee Janusz Urbaniak stated that it was not different from the situation of other voivodships with similar economic structures. Poor supplies and poor results in the procurement of livestock produce a fairly universal picture. The debate dealt at length with farming and with finding suitable incentives for increasing livestock supplies. The government's proposal for the sale of machines and farm implements in exchange for hogs was critically received.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke on many matters dealt with during the debate pertaining to the further fate of the country. He said: Everyone who is a member of the ruling party should remember that preserving and consolidating the major political, social and economic targets which the party included in the program of the ninth congress is a most urgent and most important issue. We want to remain loyal to these targets, irrespective of all worries and social tensions. We need nothing more than increased activity by individual party organizations and members.

At the end of his speech Deputy Premier Rakowski stated: I am in favor of clearly portraying the country's situation. Above all, I think we must regain the public's confidence and then we will be able to get out of the crisis in 2 or 3 years. In my views, the deputy premier said, those who are organizing strikes in the present situation are quite simply the enemies of the nation. We shall do everything to resolve Polish conflicts through political means. Of course, this does not mean with the help of inadmissible compromises. We should always bear in mind that we are responsible for 36 million Poles and for the interests of Poland as a nation. If anyone wishes to violate Poland's interests, he shall meet with a sharp riposte.

In the evening Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with the representatives of Lodz journalists.

Olszowski in Czestochowa

AU032105 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politiburo member and Central Committee secretary at the Czestochowa meeting with voivodship party aktivs -- date not given]

[Text] Evaluating the most recent events and the country's situation, S. Olszowski said that there are two large areas in which work and the party's and society's activities should be intensified. Theses areas are the economy and political activity. Discussing the issues of economic reform, improved supplies and the self-management of workforces, S. Olszowski stressed the importance of the new legal enactments which, adopted by the Sejm, will become a key to the economic reform. Regarding political activity, S. Olszowski pointed to the party's initiative to expand the platform of accord and cooperation of all the constructive forces within society. This concept has elicited great interest on the part of the Catholic Church but has been ignored by the Solidarity leadership. The party's program for consistently promoting socialist democracy, accord and cooperation has been reflected in practice in the expanded platform of the government, an issue that is also a subject of the present Sejm debate.

Discussing the issue of the mass media and of party propaganda and agitation, S. Olszowski said that a political struggle is being waged in the mass media. The party's response to the opposing side's charges is meaningful arguments and the presentation of its position and concepts. We are drawing up documented materials to explain the essence of problems and to formulate the party evaluation of phenomena. Party members must know these materials, actively participate in the discussions and talks within their communities and conduct party agitation and educational work.

Olszowski in Bielsko-Biala

AU032059 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 81 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 29 October meeting with party aktivs in Bielsko-Biala]

[Text] Opening the discussion at the meeting, S. Olszowski said that the Fifth Central Committee Plenum was a detailed continuation of the fourth plenum, whose atmosphere was completely different from that of plenums held during the strikes. The plenum members made determined declarations and had no doubts about evaluating the aim of the strikes as openly political. This must help to rally the party for action, and the party will be active.

As for the most recent 1-hour strike, S. Olszowski continued, it did not prove to be the success its organizers had hoped for. There were fewer strikers, and the fascination with solidarity and its program as well as its belief that strikes are the only means to solve a problem or conflict, is now over. Those who opposed the strike cannot entertain any feelings of defeat because they were right.

In the country's present complicated situation, S. Olszowski continued, we must not allow party organizations and the administration to relax their political militancy. The party must be the leading force in the country and make decisions on the most crucial issue for the state and the people.

I would like to point out, as PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski has already pointed out, that the most active forces that are in favor of our socialist fatherland and its share and future should cooperate to overcome our economic crisis.

Many alternatives of this cooperation are under consideration so that those who are in charge of the most crucial sectors of our economic life include, aside from party functionaries, nonparty people and Catholics, who are especially talented, educated and efficient and who show by their attitudes that they are greatly committed to the cause of the people and the country.

The most crucial issue in this process which is so important for Poland, is primarily the accord and cooperation front of the party and the political parties. This front is an important form of strengthening the state's and the government's position.

The Central Committee takes the view, S. Olszowski continued, that the country's situation is difficult and that the concentration of political-economic and political-military power in a single person is the only correct measure, although certainly a temporary one, which we want to present at the coming session of the Sejm. The fourth plenum's recognition of the fact that in the event of need, it is necessary to take measures to protect the state's and the people's most vital interests has been approved by the rank-and-file of the party and by all our people. These measures include banning the strikes and temporarily suspending work-free Saturdays.

At its ninth congress, S. Olszowski stressed, the party laid down its policy of accord, declared its dependability vis-a-vis economic and defense alliance and came out against hooligan excesses of an anti-Soviet character.

S. Olszowski also answered questions from the floor, once again declaring that our country can engage in lively political activities in the international arena and overcome the crisis within the country only under the conditions of the socialist fatherland.

Barcikowski Speaks in Szczecin

AU040850 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, at the 29 October voivodship conference of the PZPR organization in Szczecin]

[Text] Speaking during the conference, K. Barcikowski positively evaluated the adopted lines of the voivodship party organization's activities and said that these lines confirm the role of the Szczecin party organization as a constructive force, which has proposed to society positive activity in order to improve the situation and to overcome the crisis. Let us note, he said, that our party is the main -- if not the only -- force that continuously opposes anarchy and the attempts to reduce production results and worsen the working people's situation. We have been doing this with unusual perserverance throughout the crisis.

Solidarity has had a great opportunity to play an important role in social renewal, but, as you know, it has lost this opportunity to a great extent because it has deviated onto the road of total negation and destruction by engaging in the actions that are planned by some people and supported by others and that always lead to economic disorganization. Of course, it is quite easy to fan negation and social tensions. This can lead to popularity within a short time and can even seem attractive, but it is not enough in the long run. Organizaing strikes wear out the economy and hamstring the roots of society's material standards. After all, a society that would permanently come to terms with strike terrorism as a method of coercing various solutions would condemn itself to ruin. Nor can socieity approve in the long run the complete carelessness and irresponsibility of various "leaders" who airily issue orders and coerce people to submit to strikes. Such practices cannot last long because they defeat themselves.

There are curious situations. For example, Solidarity continues to block the production of coal in coal mines on Saturdays, which will reduce this year's coal production by about 30 million tons. We will never be able to compensate for this loss unless we work Saturdays. However, every effort is being made to prevent coal producation on Saturdays. Solidarity is doing this in coal mining. On the other hand, Solidarity in Szczecin Voivodhip construction enterprises is doing something quite different: It is organizing a strike to protest the shorage of goods, including cement. But how can we produce cement without fuel? If there is no coal there is no cement. Most of the cement plants throughout the country are idle because they have no fuel to burn. This is a typical example of anarchic activities devoid of any meaning at all.

We can cite such facts at will. For example, in Zyrardow the light industry plants, producing almost entirely for the market, are idle. These plants are idle because it was decided that a strike should be held to protest bad market supplies, but a strike only adds to supply difficulties in the market. We can say the same thing about the Siarkopol plant in Tarnobreg, which is an enormous plant of national importance and which has gone on strike to protest bad supplies. This plant is important because it supplies the Polish chemcial industry with sulfur and, indirectly, with sulfuric acid, and because it is an important exporter. In addition, sulfur is one of our country's main export commodities.

The question is: Will they also hold the government responsible for the results of such a situation?

Referring to many proposals submitted from the floor, K. Barcikowski devoted much attention to the need to see to it that various bodies of the state administration are more consientious in fulfilling their duties and that a determined struggle is waged against the chaos affecting our life.

Czechowicz Meets Zgierz Aktivs

AU040852 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Tadeusz Czechowicz, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR committee in Lodz, at the 30 October meeting with Zgierz party aktivs]

[Text] Answering questions from the floor, T. Czechowicz pointed to the complicated nature of our present situation caused by the positive changes that had been prompted by the events in August 1980 and by a number of unfavorable manifestations that continue to intensify our crisis. These manifestations include the disproportions between the increases in wages, which are often coerced by various means, and the decreases in productivity and amounts of goods on the market. This goes hand in hand with a too violent reduction in working time, considering our economic conditions, and with a clearly relaxed social discipline. The reduction in working time was necessary, but it was not prepared for properly.

The party and government, T. Czechowicz continues, have a program for overcoming our crisis. It is necessary to take measures that will enable us to restore as soon as possible the level of production we have already achieved and which we can again achieve with our economic potential. However, political stabilization is the basic condition for achieving economic stabilization, which calls for strengthening the party's unity and activities and for creating an extensive and open front of cooperation.

Answering questions on Solidarity, T. Czechowicz said that the party is for the worker stream within Solidarity and for all its activities as a trade union organization. But, he continued, we are against all those politicos who would like to play politics only, ignoring trade union issues, fanning society's moods of discontent with the prolonging crisis and intensifying economic chaos.

Kubiak,Kielce Workers Meet

AU040848 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 30 October meeting with workers of the Iskra ball bearing plant in Kielce]

[Text] Comrade H. Kubiak discussed party policy following the fourth and fifth party plenums, and the key political, social and economic problems. He also answered many questions on on the PZPR, Solidarity, the Politburo and the Central Committee.

We are facing an enormous number of issues and problems to which it is difficult to find answers now. Many problems have arisen, but they must be solved calmly. We are in the midst of a transformation, which is beset by various issues, obscurities, doubts and domestic dissension. Our standards are worsening from month to month. How can we halt this process? Each one of us, H. Kubiak continues, realizes that today simple solutions are impossible and ready made recipes are not available. A laborious and difficult period of overcoming our crisis is awaiting us. No one should have any illusions on that score. That is why we need social unity, which we must safeguard.

Answering a question on Solidarity and on party members' belonging to it, H. Kubiak said that what is at stake is not to set the PZPR and Solidarity at loggerheads, but to see that Solidarity becomes a genuine trade union.

Solidarity cannot operate on the principle of diktat. It should speak with the worker's voice and stop engaging in political adventures. Solidarity should go about trade union tasks and the party should go about political tasks. Every extremism is dangerous to us.

Discussing the country's general situation, H. Kubiak said that we must lay down the conditions for overcoming the political, social and economic crisis. No one must negate the PZPR's basic role, he said. Nor can anyone refuse to recognize the system of social power and Poland's international treaties and alliances and the identity of the socialist state.

LEGNICA PZPR COMMITTEE CONDEMNS JURCZYK SPEECH

LD032210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The plenum of the Legnica Voivodship PZPR Committee met today. It dealt with the most pressing ideological tasks. On several occasions the speakers stressed numerous cases of negligence in the dissemination of ideological and political knowledge as well as the precepts of Marxism-Leninism among party members and candidate members.

A resolution was passed concerning the intensification of ideological and upbringing work in line with the documents of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The resolution also condemned the speech delivered by Marian Jurczyk at the meeting in the Trzebiatow furniture factory.

MADEJ, PZPR LECTURERS DISCUSS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

LD032104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Government steps for the immediate future were the main topic of a report conveyed by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej to the lecturers of the PZPR Central Committee at today's meeting. The key problems are still the issue of coal extraction and the reinstatement of commercial links between towns and rural areas. Deputy Premier Madej stressed that the structure of our economy demands increased coal extraction. Successive attempts aimed at resolving the coal question by the government and Solidarity did not bring the desired results. Now, other ways are being considered. Speaking about the market supply of food, Deputy Premier Madej drew attention to the looming danger resulting from the very low procurement of grain. At the same time we have no resources for imports. Thus, in the coming months, the grain market may become an important problem.

FORMER PILA VOIVODSHIP PARTY OFFICIALS EXPELLED

LD031406 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Correspondent's report from Pila]

[Excerpts] A plenum of the Pila Voivodship PZPR Committee yesterday assessed party activities following the Fourth and Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenums. Pila Voivodship is one of the few voivodships where there is relative calm and order.

Compared to last year, industrial output has declined by 11 percent or Z1.6 billion.

During yesterday's voivodship committee plenum (Tadeusz Lipiec), chairman of Pila Voivodship Party Control Commission presented information on the current work of the commission. At present 42 cases pertaining, above all, to members of the former party and economic aktiv in the voivodship are being investigated. A few have already been completed, while others will be completed shortly. (Tadeusz Lipiec) informed the plenum that on 29 October the adjudication team of the Central Party Control Commission, following a second examination of the case of Alfred Kowalski, the former first secretary of Pila Voivodship party committee and of the case of Andrzej Sliwinski, former Pila voivoda, had decided to have them expelled from the party.

The same decision was reached by the adjudication team of the Pila Voivodship Party Control Commission with regard to Jozef Focht, former secretary of the voivodship party committee. Marian Maczynski, former secretary of the voivodship committee party was given a reprimand with a warning and banned from occupying elected posts for a period of 3 years.

LUBLIN PZPR DISCUSSES GRUNWALD, SOLIDARITY

AU040844 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 p 2

[Ryszard Wolak report on the 30 October session of the accountability-election conference of the Lublin PZPR organization to discuss its action program]

[Excerpt] The conference devoted much attention to the so-called self-delcaration of party members. The view that this should not involve noisily condemning Solidarity or abandoning its ranks predominated. The point is that party members are able under any circumstances to unambiguously support the party program, to consistently implement the demands stemming from party resolutions, to properly discharge public duties and to conduct themselves in line with the statute and a normal sense of social morality and justice.

Some people from the floor asked the central party authorities to take a stand on the activities of the Grunwald Patriotic Union, the RZECHZYWISTOSC weekly and party seminars and forums, which operate in some centers -- not always in the spirit of the PZPR statute. The central party authorities were also asked about renouncing the personnel policy as a result of which party members who lost the trust of their communities during the pre-congress campaign are appointed to important posts, including party apparatus posts.

Voices were also heard that it is high time to abandon the practice of criticizing people and other authorities of various levels for procrastination in action and lack of consistency in solving problems, in order to devote more energy to solving the problems in "our own backyard" and to implement party resolution in Lublin plants, institutions and housing settlements.

The discussion produced a number of amendments and proposals to the draft program, which was then adopted for implementation.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM 'INSIGNIFICANT'

PM031349 Paris LE FIGARO in French 30 Oct 81 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Warsaw Plenum Has Settled Nothing"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Is the Polish United Workers' party [PZPR] still capable of steering the country out of the crisis into which its 34 years of management have plunged it? If we were to judge by the course of the Fifth Central Committee Plenum and its results, we would, unfortunately, have to give a negative reply. Moreover, the 2-day Sejm session which opens this afternoon will not contribute many new elements: It will probably do no more than change one or two ministers and launch an appeal for an end to strikes. So there will be nothing decisive.

The plenum might as well never have taken place. It was insignificant. The appointment of a new Politburo candidate member, General Siwicki, and two Central Committee secretaries is, in fact, not likely to excite the masses, especially since General Siwicki, who will be defense minister later, is known as an unqualified pro-Soviet (it was he who commanded the Polish intervention corps in Czechoslovakia in 1968).

Therefore, it was no-score plenum, as boring as a soccer match ending with a nil-nil score. There is great disappointment in the party too.

"We expected far more important changes in the Politburo," Mr Paluchiewicz, propaganda secretary in a big factory in Katowice, said. Mr Czechowicz, first secretary in a Warsaw factory, shares that view: "I expected more. In the country's present situation, a plenum devoted solely to personnel and structural questions is not enough."

That is an understatement at a time when the country is in its death throes and time is short for achieving the vital national unity. It is tragic to see the party making do with a routine plenum.

Similarly, General Jaruzelski's speech was banal in what it said and dull in the way it was said. And yet this was the first time that the general had appeared on television since his election to the post of first secretary. Sadly, it must be said that this speech has already lost him some of the credit he may have enjoyed in the country. The lack of vision and political imagination was distressing. It was obvious that although the first secretary is new the same person is, unfortunately, still writing the speeches. A change in that post could ultimately have been more significant.

The Inevitable Consensus

The most important question is why General Jaruzelski, who on Wednesday 21 October gave the Polish primate his agreement in principle for the formation of a unity government, is not saying anything about it 1 week later. It can even be stated that on 21 October the text of a joint communique, announcing the agreement reached, had already been drafted by Religious Affairs Minister Kuberski, representing the government, and by Father Orszulik, assistant secretary to the Episcopate. At the last minute, when consulted by telephone, General Jaruzelski preferred to postpone the announcement of that agreement until the result of an interview with Mr Walesa.

What happened? The first explanation is that the deterioration in the social climate, and the wave of strikes, temporarily made agreement impossible. This is the theory upheld in government circles.

Indeed another hypothesis is much more likely: General Jaruzelski, who was elected first secretary when nobody -- including the Politburo -- was expecting Mr Kania's fall, has not yet been able to consolidate his position and was quickly forced to realize that his views were not readily accepted by a deeply divided Politburo and party.

The fact that it was not even possible to modify the composition of the Politburo, as had been announced, confirms this hypothesis.

Therefore, the new first secretary intends to pursue the same policy, especially by struggling against the bureaucracy and the apparatus. To do this the party bureau intended, for want of a great coalition, to set up a minicoalition with the associated parties United Peasant Party and Democratic Party and a few prominent people. Unfortunately those two parties have just rejected that, refusing to take part in anything but real national unity. These little parties, until now under the Communist Party's heel, can gradually be seen to be regaining their individuality.

General Jaruzelski may need some time to persuade his friends that a national consensus cannot be evaded. Unfortunately the country cannot wait any longer. The leadership's vacillation may have some consequences including the formation of a socialist party: The PZPR was formed by a merger between the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party in 1948. Pressure is mounting throughout the country, and especially in working class circles, to resurrect the Socialist Party from its ashes.

COVERAGE OF SEJM DISCUSSIONS, COMMENTARIES

Deputies Support National Front

LD031554 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (PAP) -- The news agency INTERPRESS has published opinions of several Sejm deputies concerning the broadening of the government base, a conception expounded at the latest Sejm session by Premier Wojiech Jaruzelski.

Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki (PUWP) said that "if the guiding role of the Polish United Workers' Party is to be expressed in its leading social influence it not only can but must take into account these political parties and also Catholic groupings which are capable of assuring achievement of generally acceptable aims."

"In this we must be pragmatic and strive for transformation of structures and forms. A wider spectrum of political orientation in the government is not the sole and exclusive platform of cooperation. This is why the reconstruction of the National Unity Front is now the subject of important discussions," concluded the deputy.

Deputy Jerzy Jozwiak (DP) said, inter alia: "This is only the beginning of that opening towards coalition cooperation forms, but is signifies that the Polish United Workers' Party has become aware that the process of selection and recruitment of cadres cannot be limited to members of its own party only because if deprives that party of the possibility to utilize the intellectual potential of the entire nation."

Deputy Jan Waleczek (Pax Catholic Association) said: "I have received the premier's announcement with cautious optimism, because the facts which followed the announcement have so far been only symbolic. In my opinion, the great coalition should comprise the church, the PUWP and Solidarity, or people appointed by these forces. Anything short of such approach to that idea is bound to stir the distrust of the society."

Deputy Boleslaw Struzek (UPP) said: "In my opinion, the thought of widening the base of government has been alive in the society for years. The recent period marked by a surge of social activeness has emphasized the need for such a formula.

"The most important thing now is for the reborn Front of National Agreement, like other organs mentioned by the premier, such as the Consultative Council for example, to win immediate high social prestige. For this is the condition for further development of the coalition formula."

Appeal for Social Peace

LD031542 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov (PAP) -- "The Sejm resolution on social peace is an appeal addressed to the entire nation for peace and social order," wrote today's ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, commenting on the recent session of the Sejm. "It is also a strong warning to all those who instigate the society to strike, to act against the interests of the socialist state. The appeal does not result from the weakness of the authorities but from a feeling of responsibility and the authorities' attempts to normalize life, to lead the country out of the crisis."

"The appeal of the Sejm for social peace, for civil commonsense touches upon the essence of what also the sphere of economy most urgently needs," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU. "The economists warn: In the 4th quarter of this year, the market is threatened with further deterioration and the whole state economic organism might get out of control.

"To relate the present decline of production and disordered state of the entire economic system to the strike have, the strike alerts, the loosening of discipline, etc, would be too much of simplification. The majority of the phenomena stems from profound structural disproportions in the economic development in the preceding years. However, let us be honest, three fourths of the decrease of the national product which was declining already since 1979 occurred after August 1980 and not after it. [sentence as received]

"For normally thinking people, TRYBUNA LUDU continued, the course of the latest events is difficult to comprehend. Why does the nearly 65 percent of the society who think the strike madness should be put an end to permit itself to be mentally terrorized?

"There are, however, some symptoms of sobering down. The scope of the last 1-hour strike, which was incommensurable with the expectations of its organizers is, in my opinion, a signal that the society will not let itself be led on the halter of demagogy and madness," TRYBUNA LUDU commentator concluded.

LE FIGARO on Session

PM031213 Paris LE FIGARO in French 31 Oct-1 Nov 81 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Jaruzelski: No to the Strike"]

[Text] Warsaw -- As was to be expected, yesterday's Sejm session did not mark the decisive turning point which the whole country nonetheless feels to be urgent. General Jaruzelski, pursuing the carrot and stick policy, alternating between firmness and hopes of an open approach, delivered a kind of wait-and-see speech which leaves all the options open. Moreover, the few changes made in the composition of the Council of Ministers are not exceptionally significant.

Democratic Party Chairman Kowalczyk was elected deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, replacing Mr Mach. That could have been the symbol of an extension of the government if the Democratic party, like the United Peasant Party, had not refused to take part in a mini-coalition. Thus, Mr Kowalczyk is in the government mainly on a personal basis. Moreover, this is a return to the government for him, since he was telecommunications minister until last year. The appointment of Mr Komender of Pax, the progressive Catholic group, to the post of internal trade minister is more important. There are also new foreign trade, materials, transportation and construction ministers (the last post being vacant).

These changes go in the right direction, since the new ministers are people respected for their competence.

Avoiding Confrontation

General Jaruzelski once again drew a sorry picture of the situation, especially the economic situation, stressing the lack of currency, materials and energy. He also tried to dramatize the debate, for instance by declaring: "Poland is at a turning point; today its people's wisdom calls us to action. History is fixing the time for a harsh test for us."

The new first secretary criticized the "extremists in Solidarity," and did not hesitate to use cheap demagoguery, asking, for instance, what mothers and veterans could think of a strike which made their lives even more difficult.

With regard to the strikes, the general asked the Sejm to adopt a resolution which is a kind of appeal to the country exhorting it to stop staging strikes. A similar resolution had already been submitted a few months ago. Such a document does not have the force of law. That is why the prime minister specified on this occasion that if the resolution had no effect he would ask the Sejm to adopt a decree along these lines.

On the other hand, after asserting that the government would do all it could to avoid confrontation and tradegy, the premier held out his hand to the other social forces in the country, suggesting the creation of three new bodies:

1 -- A "council of national agreement" which would replace the existing National Unity Front, which is purely cosmetic and has no representative nature. Solidarity and the church, in particular would be represented on the new council;

2 -- A "consultative social council" attached to the government comprising experts, prominent independent figures with recognized authority and technocrats, regardless of their political or trade union allegiance. This council would be able to take initiatives and put suggestions to the government and even to the Sejm;

3 -- A "joint government-trade union commission." Professor Geremek, Solidarity's main adviser, whom I questioned on the significance of these proposals on Friday, replied: "They are a long way from Solidarity's proposal but can form a basis for discussion. Three fundamental points will have to be clarified: are the specific attributions of a consultative council? [as published] We think that without having decisionmaking power, it should nonetheless have very broad powers. Who will appoint its members? Solidarity will not agree to their being appointed solely by the government. Finally, it is vital that the representatives of this council have the assurance that they can present their proposals to the country by means of the press, radio and television."

Unpopular But Necessary Measures

As can be seen, despite the government's vacillation and hesitation, the idea of a broad national agreement is still in the air. People are beginning to realize that the country has no other chance of salvation and that in a few weeks' time it could be too late.

Indeed, it is clear that the government will not be capable of steering the country out of the crisis without a broad national consensus. For instance, Deputy Premier Madej announced forthcoming price increases during the Sejm debate, primarily the prices of alcohol and gasoline and also food products. Only support from Solidarity and the church can make the population accept these unpopular but necessary measures.

Pax Chairman Reiff defined the situation perfectly: "The government has a view which is in keeping with the aspirations of the vast majority of people: calm, order, and work. But it cannot attain them simply because it lacks the necessary social confidence for its appeals to have practical results. It assesses its allies according to their method of verbally backing its appeals and does not want to admit the truth; in other words, that the crisis cannot possibly be overcome while preserving the present monopoly of power."

Will the many pressures exerted in this direction have an effect? In any event, it is rumored that this weekend General Jaruzelski may finally have the decisive meeting with Mr Walesa which everybody is expecting. The Polish primate could also take part in this consultation in some way.

LEVELS OF ANIMALS PURCHASED FOR SLAUGHTER DROPS

LD031346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The level of purchases of animals for slaughter fell last month. State purchasing centers in October bought slightly more than 90,000 tons of cattle and hog fatstock, and it was another month when purchases fell short of plan. It is worth adding that less than 90 percent of this year's plan for procurement of animals for slaughter, already 20 percent lower than last year's plan, is being implemented.

HIGH WINDS CAUSING 'ENORMOUS DAMAGE' REPORTED

LD032248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The hurricane-force winds which hit almost the whole of Poland have caused enormous damage. The power engineering workers who have been working throughout the night and who are still working to make good the damage are stating that in postwar Poland there has never been so much damage on such a great area in a 24-hour period.

The greatest damage has been done in agricultural areas where the (?best) land suffered the most. The winds hit the northern, central and eastern parts of the country the most savagely. On the Gdansk coastal area one of the greatest pieces of damage was in the form of the toppling of a steel chimney through which gases from the Gdansk refinery pass. The rebuilding of this chimney will last from 2 to 3 weeks. For the duration of this period the refinery will be out of action.

In Gdynia port the gale tore two ships away from their mooring ropes. But this did not cause any damage.

Forty percent of the area in Gdansk Voivodship was out off from electricity. In Szczecin Voivodship 28 power lines were damaged. Three hundred and fifty localities are without power. The damage is being repaired but 40 transformer stations are still out of action.

In Koszalin Voivodship the winds ripped off the roofs from more than 300 houses, 380 localities have been cut off from electricity and 150 localities are not connected to telephones. The winds also caused great damage in the forests.

In Bydgoszcz Voivodship the winds damaged almost 1/2 of the medium-tension lines. The towns and districts of Grudziadz, Brodnica, Chelmza, Wabrzezno and Golub-Dobrzyn suffered the most damage [all in Torun Voivodship].

The winds caused unprecedented damage in Elblag Voivodship where out of 2,420 transformer stations 2,020 of (?these) stations were put out of action.

The making good of the breakdowns and devastation in Olsztyn Voivodship will take at least several days. In Warsaw, Ostroleka and Siedlce Voivodships 7 high-tension lines and 116 medium-tension lines and also 4,200 transformer stations have been damaged. Repair crews should have dealt with the bulk of this damage by tomorrow evening.

In Biala Podlaska, Chelm, Lublin and Zamosc Voivodships 240 medium-tension lines have been torn down, 7,400 transformer stations are out of action. In Zamosc Voivodship 2/3 of the telephone subscribers have been cut off. A considerable part of the Telex lines are also out of action. Three quarters of Bialystok Voivodship was also cut off from electricity supplies. The wind ripped off roofs and smashed windowpanes in Slupsk Voivodship were the wind blew the roof off a dwelling as a result of which a 4-year-old boy was killed. In Wroclaw firemen had to remove numerous trees that had toppled over onto the streets. The winds knocked over hundreds of trees in the Sudety region.

High-tension lines, including two truck lines supplying power to the Podhale region, were damaged in Krakow and Nowy Sacz Voivodships. Twenty-two medium-tension trunk lines were ripped down in Tarnow Voivodship. Considerable damage was also done there by winds in the forests. The winds also caused considerable damage on the railroads, even partially paralyzing the lines. The greatest damage was done in the area of the Warsaw railroad junction where in the night traffic was paralyzed on all railroad lines coming into Warsaw. Most of these installations had been repaired by noon.

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROGRAM RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

AU241540 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC Supplement in Polish 16 Oct 81 pp 1-16

["Program of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Adopted by the First National Congress of Delegations" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Twenty-One Demands of the Gdansk Interfactory Strike Committee

1. Free trade unions, independent from the party and employers, should be accepted in line with ILO convention No 87 which has been ratified by the Polish People's Republic.

2. Right to strike and the safety of strikers and assisting persons are to be guaranteed.

3. Freedom of speech, the press and publications, guaranteed under the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, is to be observed, and thus independent publishing houses should not be repressed, and all denominations should have access to the mass media.

4. The following are to have their previous rights reinstated:

A) Persons dismissed in 1970 and 1976,
B) Students ousted from schools for their convictions.

The political prisoners, E. Zadrozynski, J. Kozlowski and M. Kozlowski, should be freed.

5. Media should provide information about the formation of the Interfactory Strike Committee, and its demands should be published.

6. Real steps should be taken to bring the country out of the crisis situation by publishing full information about the socioeconomic situation and by enabling everyone to participate in discussions on the program for reforms.

7. All strikers should be paid for the striking period, as for annual leave, from the funds of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

8. To compensate for the price increase to date, the basic wages of each employee should be increased by Z2,000 monthly.

9. An automatic wage increase should be guaranteed in proportion to the price increase and the devaluation of money.

10. The internal market should be fully supplied with foodstuffs, and only surpluses should be exported.

11. Coupons should be introduced for meat and meat products (until the situation on the market is under control).

12. Commercial prices and sales for foreign currency in so-called internal export should be abolished.

13. Leading cadres should be selected on the principle of qualifications, and not of party affiliation, and privileges enjoyed by the Citizens' Militia, the security service and the party apparatus should be abolished by equalizing family benefits, eliminating special sales, and so forth.

14. Pensions should be granted after 35 years of work, and the retirement age should be lowered to 50 years for women and 55 years for men.

15. Disability payments and pensions payable under the old system should be brought to the present level.

16. Working conditions in health services should improve to ensure full medical protection to people who work.

17. An appropriate number of places should be ensured in kindergartens and nurseries.

18. Paid maternity leaves should be extended to 3 years.

19. The time of waiting for apartments should be reduced.

20. Expense allowances should be increased from Z40 to Z100, as well as separation allowances.

21. All Saturdays should be free from work, employees constantly on the move and working under the 4-brigade system should be compensated for free Saturdays with prolonged holidays or with paid holiday time.

[Dated] Gdansk, 16-17 August 1980

I

Who Are We and What Are Our Aspirations?

The independent self-governing trade union Solidarity emerged from the 1980 strike movement, the most massive movement in the history of Poland. Initiated among workers at large enterprises in various parts of Poland, that movement reached its historic peak in August 1980 on the coast. Within a year, it engulfed all groups of the labor world: workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and craftsmen.

Our union originated simply from the needs of our country's common people, from their sufferings and disappointments, from their hopes and yearnings. Our union rose from the rebellion of Polish society which for more than three decades experienced the branches of human and civil rights; from the rebellion against ideological discrimination and economic exploitation. It was a protest against the existing system of exercising power.

What all of us had in mind were not only living conditions, although we lived poorly, worked hard and very frequently in vain; history has taught us that there is no bread without freedom. What we had in mind were not only bread, butter and sausage but also justice, democracy, truth, legality, human dignity, freedom of convictions and the repair of the republic. All elementary values had been too mistreated to believe that anything could improve without their rebirth. Thus the economic protest also had to be simultaneously a social protest, and the social protest had to be simultaneously a moral protest.

That social and moral protest did not crop up overnight. Inherent in it was the heritage of blood shed by workers in Poznan in 1956 and on the coast in December 1970, of the 1968 students rebellion, and the 1976 sufferings in Radom and Ursus. Inherent in it was the heritage of independent actions carried out by the workers, intelligentsia and youths, of the efforts made by the church to preserve the values, the heritage of all struggles for human dignity in our country. Our union rose from those struggles and will remain loyal to them.

We are an organization combining the features of a trade union and of a great social movement. The combination of those features makes our organization strong and determines our role in the life of the entire nation. Owing to the formation of the powerful trade union organization, Polish society has ceased to be divided, disorganized and lost, while uniting under the slogan of solidarity, it has reconverted its strength and hopes. Conditions have been provided for an authentic national rebirth. Our union is the broadest representation of the working people in Poland; it wants to be and will be the causative force of that rebirth.

Solidarity unites many social trends and associates people adhering to various ideologies, with various political and religious convictions, irrespective of their nationality [narodowosc]. We have united in protest against injustice, the abuses of power and against the monopolized right to determine and to express the aspirations of the entire nation. We have united in protest against the treatment of the citizen by the state as if he were state property, against the deprivation of the working people of an authentic representation in their conflicts with the state; against the benevolence [laskawosc] of those in power who know better how much freedom is to be allotted to those under their rule; and against awards for absolute obediency instead of initiative and independence in action. We have been united in repudiating hypocrisy and in objecting against the mismanagement of the results of the hard and patient toil performed by the people.

However, we are a force capable not only of protesting: We are a force willing to build a just Poland for everyone, a force invoking common human values.

Our activity must be based on respect for man. The state should serve man and not rule over him. The state organization should serve society and not be identified with one political party. The state should be a real commonweal belonging to the entire nation. Work is for man, and what determines its sense is its closeness [zblizenie] to man, to his real needs.

Our national and social rebirth must be based on the restored hierarchy of those goals. While defining its aims, Solidarity draws from the values of Christian ethics, from our national traditions and from the workers' and democratic traditions of the labor world. John Paul II's encyclical about human labor is for us a new stimulus to work. As a mass organization of the working people, Solidarity is also a movement for the moral rebirth of the people.

We regard democracy [ludowladstwo] as a principle which must not be desisted from. Democracy must not be rule exercised by groups placing themselves above society and claiming the right to determine the need and to represent the interests of society. Society must be able to speak with its full voice, to express various social and political opinions; it must be able to organize in such a way as to guarantee a fair share in the material and spiritual achievements of the nation for all, as well as to liberate all the nation's possibilities and creative forces. We aspire for the real socialization of the administration and management system. For this reason our objective is a self-governing Poland.

We value the idea of freedom and unqualified independence. We will support everything that consolidates national and state sovereignty, that helps freely develop national culture and that hands down the heritage of history. We consider that our national identity must be fully respected.

Having formed and acted under very difficult conditions, our union is advancing along a path not trodden by anybody. All who have important Polish questions at heart and who find no support or understanding anywhere else joined it from the very beginning and continue to join. Aware of its strength, of its social and moral prestige, people count on our union virtually in every sphere. We must simultaneously fight for our union's existence, organize at all levels and learn -- frequently from our own mistakes -- the appropriate behavior and methods of the struggle for our goals.

Ours is a program for the struggle for the goals set, a program reflecting the aspirations and aims of our society, a program rooted in those aspirations. It is a program pursuing long-term goals by settling closer problems. It is a program for our work, struggle and service.

II

Attitude To the Country's Present Situation

The formation of Solidarity, a mass social movement, has radically changed the situation in the country. It has given various independent public institutions, both new ones and

those that until recently depended on the state authorities and have now won independence, a chance to develop. The formation of organizations independent from the state authorities and have now won independence, a chance to develop. The formation of organizations independent from the state authorities is to be regarded as a fact fundamental for changes taking place in our country's sociopolitical relations. Owing to them society is able to strive to implement its aspirations and effectively defend its rights.

Conditions for exercising power have thus changed. To exercise it effectively, it is necessary to take into account the will of society and to act under its control in line with the requirements set forth in the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie social accords. It was necessary to introduce an economic reform, and to reform the state and its institutions. We had the right to expect the state authorities to carry out such reforms.

Based on the omnipotence of the central party and state institutions, the way that we were ruled previously was leading the country to ruin. The holding back of changes, which has been continuing for a year although it has been impossible to rule in the old way, has accelerated that process and is rapidly carrying us to catastrophe. After World War II, the economy did not sink anywhere in Europe as deep as it did in our country under peaceful conditions. Notwithstanding the fatigue and disappointment, in the past 12 months society showed enormous patience and at the same time determination. However, there is the danger that fatigue and disappointment will turn eventually into a blind destructive force, or submerge us in helplessness. As a society, we must not lose the hope that it is possible to overcome the crisis.

In view of the national tragedy, Solidarity must no longer restrict itself to expectation and to exerting pressure on the authorities to keep obligations stemming from the agreements. For society we are the only guarantor of those agreements. For this reason the union considers it as its fundamental duty to take every possible promising [perspektywiczny] emergency step to save the country from downfall and society from misery, apathy and self-destruction. There is no other way to that goal except by reforming the state and the economy on the basis of democracy and universal public initiative.

We are fully aware that Polish society expects us to serve in such a way as to enable people to live in peace. The nation would not forgive anybody the treason to the ideals which brought Solidarity into existence. The nation would not forgive anybody's acts, even motivated by the best of reasons, if they result in bloodshed and in the destruction of our spiritual and material achievements. The awareness of that commands us to bring our ideals true gradually, in such a way as to win public support for each subsequent task.

Responsibility commands us to see the system of powers that emerged in Europe after World War II. We want to continue the work of the great change, initiated by us, without violating international alliances. They must obtain better guarantees than that to date. Inspired by the profound feeling of dignity, patriotism and its traditions, our nation can be a valuable partner only when it assumes obligations voluntarily and consciously.

The country's present situation has confronted us with the need to draw up a program with a different scope. This must be primarily a program for fast actions necessary to pass through the coming difficult winter season. And at the same time it must be a program for an economic reform that must not be postponed, a program for social policy and for reforming the country's public life, and a program for the path to a self-governing republic.

III

The Union's Attitude To the Crisis and the Economic Reform

The sources of the present crisis lie deep in the economy, in the economic system and in the economic policy pursued by the authorities who, while disregarding the basic interests of society, blocked every attempt at reform and squandered enormous foreign loans. The acute crisis was building up since the mid-seventies, and in the past year it was sharply aggravated mainly because of the inability of the authorities to carry out profound changes.

In view of the country's looming economic catastrophy, the government published a program for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the economy. The union does not support that program because it fails to make use of many economic reserves and does not command public confidence. In our opinion, it is only possible to overcome the crisis more rapidly if the decisions of the authorities are fully reliable. This is why we demand that public control over the government's anticrisis decisions be ensured. To make those decisions credible, it is necessary to appoint to leading positions in the national economy people enjoying professional and public prestige.

THESIS 1 -- WE DEMAND A SELF-GOVERNING AND DEMOCRATIC REFORM AT EVERY MANAGEMENT LEVEL AND A NEW SOCIOECONOMIC SYSTEM COMBINING THE PLAN, SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE MARKET.

The union calls for reform. Its purpose is to abolish the privileges of the bureaucracy and to rule out the possibility of their restoration. The reform must bring about the general liberation of industriousness and enterprise. (This proposal has been evolved in Document No 1 in the Annex). For this reason it must not be simulated. The reform will imply public costs, and its implementation will require special protection for some groups of the population. The union will strive for it.

1. The system for distributing orders in the control of economic life, which makes rational management impossible, must be abolished. Under this system, all economic power is concentrated in the hands of the party and bureaucratic apparatus. The organizational structure of the economy serving the commanding system must be smashed. The economic administration organs must be separated from political power. The dependence of enterprise directors on ministers for service must be eliminated, and appointments on the basis of the party nomenclature must be given up. The reform will be carried out only when it is a mass movement of collectives. The network of factory Solidarity organizations at leading enterprises is an example of such a movement. The activity of the network has initiated a wide self-governing movement.

2. A new organizational structure must be built for the economy. The socialized enterprise should be the basic organizational unit in the economy. It should be controlled by the workers' council representing the collective and should be operatively run by the director appointed, through competitions, and recalled by the council.

The socialized enterprise will use all-people's property entrusted to it in the interests of society and of its collective. It will act independently on the basis of economic accountancy. The state should influence its activity through regulations and economic means -- prices, taxes, interest rates from credits, currency exchange rates and so forth.

3. Bureaucratic barriers hampering market activities should be abolished. Central administrative organs must neither restrict enterprises to activity within certain areas of spheres, nor assign them suppliers and customers. Each enterprise must also have direct access to activity in the sphere of foreign trade. The union duly appreciates the importance of profitable export for collectives and the country.

The aspirations of an enterprise to obtain a privileged position on the market should be curbed by the anti-monopoly law and consumer organizations. The prices of most goods should be fixed by supply and demand.

4. The reform should socialize planning. The central plan must reflect the aspirations of society and must be accepted by society. For this reason the central plan must be publicly discussed. There must be a chance to discuss any variant plans also drafted on social and citizen initiative. For this reason, access to reliable economic information is necessary. It calls for establishing public control over the Main Statistical Office.

THESIS 2 -- THE COMING WINTER REQUIRES ENERGETIC EMERGENCY STEPS; THE UNION PROCLAIMS AN ALERT FOR PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL.

The winter is coming. In view of the economic disintegration, it may be dangerous for society. We must organize social self-assistance. Our union proclaims an alert for people of good will.

1. Emergency steps in the economy:

A) The union's governing bodies should ask the government to familiarize them with the government's plan for enduring the winter.

B) The union will require that the authorities see to it that dwellings, both in the city and in the countryside, are sufficiently heated and lighted and that the demand for basic necessities (warm clothing, food) be satisfied.

C) With the assistance of enterprise commissions, workers' self-managing bodies should see to it that commodities produced on free Saturdays, in addition to the targets, be properly used;

They should come to terms on the division of those commodities and must direct them to the places most jeopardized;

They must adapt production organization to power restrictions and must arrange for cooperation with the union's regional authorities and with the energy administration for the winter season.

2. Social self-assistance:

The union must organize at the regional, local or enterprise level the union's or public emergency service for winter assistance which,

-- In cooperation with boyscouts and the Independent Students Association, should see to it that persons helpless against the winter be provided with food and fuel;

-- Should organize emergency teams of enterprises to repair the dwellings of persons under their protection and to defend them against particularly painful winter effects;

-- On the basis of enterprise and private transportation means, should provide, in case of need, transportation for schoolchildren, physicians and so forth;

-- Should help the urban population provide itself with potatoes, vegetables and fruit;

-- Should organize the distribution of assistance from abroad.

Enterprise emergency services should join in settling supply problems, acting in solidarity within the district and the region.

THESIS 3 -- TO DEFEND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS, IT IS NECESSARY TO JOINTLY RESIST PRODUCTION DECLINES.

It is essential today to check sinking production. For this purpose, it is necessary to improve supplies by utilizing internal reserves and increased allocations for importing raw and other materials and spare parts. Their availability depends on the effectiveness of our program for overcoming the crisis and for the reform, on increased exports and on the possibilities of obtaining credits both from the East and West.

We consider that the government should examine conditions for our country's return to the International Monetary Fund and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank, and should present those conditions to public opinion.

At the same time we must do our best to obtain the maximum production on the basis of the means available in the country. (Detailed proposals in this sphere have been specified in Document No 2 in the Annex.)

1. We must restrict investment outlays in production and must process the materials saved at the existing enterprises.

2. Conditions should be provided to sell the dispensable stocks of materials, machines and equipment either abroad or to private production enterprises in the country. Restrictions hampering the activity of the latter are to be lifted.

3. In view of the particular importance of coal and other raw materials, priority should be given to the rapid increase of employment, to the technical equipment of mines and to creating conditions for increased output in the future.

4. In principle we must increase the share of private farms in the allotment of production means, and particularly of farm machines, tools, plant protection means and fodder, especially that having a high albumin content. That will make it possible to raise food production, because private farms are more efficient than socialized ones.

5. Because of the acute food and energy shortage, in the immediate future it will be necessary to put a number of enterprises out of operation. The criteria of economic effectiveness should be determinant in this respect. However, such decisions should be restricted to the minimum necessary and should only be adopted when there are no rational chances to switch over to another production.

6. In many fields, working time is now of no decisive importance for the quantity of production. However, being aware of the requirements of the crisis situation, we can abstain from demanding more free Saturdays in 1982. The performance of additional work on free Saturdays should depend on the will of collectives.

7. In the crisis period, armament expenditures should be restricted to the absolute minimum, and the funds and facilities freed in this way should be used to raise production.

THESIS 4 -- THE UNION RECOGNIZES THE NEED FOR RESTORING THE MARKET EQUILIBRIUM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A RELIABLE ANTICRISIS PROGRAM WHICH SHOULD BE IN LINE WITH THE EXPEDIENT REFORM AND SHOULD PROTECT THE WEAKEST GROUPS OF THE POPULATION.

An increase in production and in the supplies of goods should be the main means to restore the market equilibrium. However, this means alone will be insufficient to restore the market equilibrium in the shortest time possible. (Detailed proposals in this respect are contained in Documents 2 and 3 of the Annex.) It is also necessary to reduce market demand. That is attainable by the following methods:

1. By gradual price increases with the preservation, in a transition period, of ration cards for basic consumer goods;

2. By a single price increase with the simultaneous abolishment of the rationing system;

3. By a monetary reform combined with a price reform.

Within the framework of those general methods and of their combinations, there are many solutions. Some concrete proposals have been presented by their authors in the Annex to union members for deliberation. They do not rule out other proposals.

To make the above methods effective, we must -- earlier or simultaneously -- increase production. If none of the above methods is applied, the introduction of a general rationing system for all goods will be inevitable. General rationing does not restore equilibrium; it results in wastefulness, brings about artificial shortages, foments a bureaucracy and black market, eliminates incentives for good work and does not provide guarantees for protecting the population's real incomes.

The way of restoring the equilibrium will be chosen, following a public discussion, by society in a nationwide referendum. The union will insist on it. The sooner we settle that, the smaller will be the public costs of restoring the market equilibrium.

THESIS 5 -- THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CRISIS AND THE ECONOMIC REFORM MUST BE UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL.

A condition for the successful struggle against the crisis lies not only in drafting a program acceptable for society, but also in public control over the implementation of the program. The union hopes that control in the future will be exerted by the reborn Sejm and People's Councils, as well as by workers' self-managing bodies.

However, public control institutions must be set up immediately, because the experience of both the sixties and the seventies and of the most recent 12 months are evidence that the lack of public control results in erroneous decisions and ministers to inefficiency and parochial interests. For this reason the union demands to form a public council for the national economy. It should have within its power the right to assess the government's economic policy, to assess the economic situation and economic legal acts, and to initiate moves necessary in those fields. The council should have the right to present draft acts. The public council for the national economy should act quite openly, and its members should have the right to consult society by means of the mass media.

THESIS 6 -- WHILE BEARING IN MIND EVERYONE, THE UNION WILL ACCORD PARTICULAR SOLICITUDE TO THE POOREST.

We will defend against the effects of the crisis primarily all those whose lives are the most difficult. In line with the Gdansk agreement, we will demand the introduction of a cost-of-living allowance, an increase in grants for education and family allowances in 1982, as well as the recognition of a social minimum as a guideline for the income policy.

In its policy, the union will be governed by the principle that compensations must guarantee the preservation of the real income level of the less prosperous part of society. To observe this principle,

-- Compensations must be granted to workers (pensioners and recipients of disability payments) and to all family members on their upkeep;

-- Family allowances, grants for education, disability payments, pensions, scholarships and other social benefits must increase proportionately to the increasing prices;

-- The ceilings of incomes entitling allowances, scholarships and other benefits, as well as the budgets of maternity houses, homes for old people, hospitals and so forth must increase proportionately with price increases.

The union adheres to the principle that compensations should be equal irrespective of wages.

We note the need for listing basic goods and services, the increased prices of which should be compensated for. Price increases, the principles and the amount of compensations must be consulted with the union.

We demand substantially more funds for social assistance.

The union will take steps to alleviate the effects of the inevitable increase in living costs. For that purpose,

-- We will check the costs of living indexes;

-- We will back public initiatives in control over the quality of goods and the fairness of their prices;

-- We will demand subsidies making it possible to restrict increases in the retail prices of selected, specially important goods and services (milk, school handbooks, children's clothing and so forth).

THESIS 7 -- FOOD SUPPLIES ARE NOW OF MOST IMPORTANCE; THERE MUST BE ENOUGH FOOD FOR COUPONS; FOOD MUST BE DISTRIBUTED UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL.

In view of the acute shortage of food and manufactured goods, the union is forced, as long as the scarcity persists, to adhere to the rationing system to provide each citizen with the minimum necessary for consumption.

In view of the lack of substitutes and supplementary articles (fish, milk products), the rations of food, primarily of meat, are now too small for sufficient feeding purposes.

The union demands energetic steps from the government to guarantee food for rations, and primarily to provide incentives encouraging farmers to deliver livestock and to promote stockbreeding.

Rations must increase in step with rising production and deliveries. Trade and the rationing system must improve in such a way as to enable the citizens to shop for their rations without waiting in lines.

WE REGARD THE FEEDING OF THE NATION AS A PRIORITY ISSUE.

The union will not remain inactive while watching the supply situation. We must set up a nationwide network of trade union commissions for the affairs of the market and food and a center for their coordination. Those commissions must cooperate with the organizations of Rural Solidarity.

At the same time we must oppose barter practiced by stronger enterprises, because that undermines our solidarity.

THESIS 8 -- THE UNION WILL RESIST THE GROWING SOCIAL DIFFERENCES AMONG ENTERPRISES AND REGIONS.

Coupled with the economic reform is the danger of great pay and social inequalities among enterprises and regions. Conditions must be provided to keep them down.

For this purpose:

1. Authentic territorial self-governing bodies should take over social facilities at enterprises and to develop their social activities, previously under the enterprise management.

2. To create, under public control, national social funds making it possible to shift means to ease differences among regions.

The union is taking immediate steps:

1. To change the way social activities are financed at enterprises. At a reformed enterprise, the quantity of social funds must primarily depend on the number of employees, and not on the fund of wages.

2. The population living in a region must be provided with a social basis run by enterprises' (kindergartens, houses of culture, the means of transportation and so forth).

3. The union's taking steps to form -- with the participation of representatives from settlements and districts -- mixed commissions as nuclei of territorial self-governing bodies determining the ways how the social basis is to be used and developed.

IV

Labor Protection as the Union's Basic Task

The union's basic activity will be aimed at guaranteeing the worker's right to work, to a worthy treatment on the part of the employer, to working conditions safe and harmless for health and to fair pay.

THESIS 9 -- RIGHT TO WORK MUST BE RESPECTED, AND THE SYSTEM OF PAYMENTS MUST BE REFORMED.

We are for the universal right to work and against unemployment. Aware of the need for regulating employment, the union considers that it can be regulated in such a way as to prevent unemployment. At enterprises expecting payroll cuts, factory commissions should examine the possibilities of shifting employees within the enterprise in such a way as to enable them to get other jobs or to work at shorter shifts without losses in wages.

The union considers it necessary to provide legal and other conditions for quitting jobs in the socialized economy and for engaging in the nonsocialized economy. The issue of labor emigration must be legally regulated. In connection with that, the National Commission will get in touch with trade unions abroad to encompass under union protection Polish citizens seasonally working abroad.

The union will resolutely resist all staff reductions unless there are social guarantees for people who are temporarily jobless (the regulation of their statutes, appropriate allowances, the regulated principles of their retraining for other jobs).

In the sphere of providing jobs, Solidarity will accord special solicitude to sole providers of the family, single mothers, employees short of retirement and the partially disabled.

Regional boards will form special employment commissions.

It is necessary to reform the payments system in such a way as to guarantee fair wages and equal payment for equal work. Under the conditions of the economic reform, this should signify that the state, in consultation with trade unions, must fix the level of guaranteed payments. It should be uniform for the entire country in application to individual trades and jobs, irrespective of the economic results scored by enterprises. The reform in the system of payments will aim at:

-- Standardizing fringe benefits,

-- Consolidating the motivating functions of wages;

-- Fixing minimal wages at the level of a half the average, but not smaller than the social minimum;

-- Taking excessively high wages (optional proposal);

-- Including allowances for dangerous, harmful to health or onerous work into the basic wages in such a way as to prevent those allowances from hampering improvements in labor conditions;

-- Eliminating piece work payments.

We are for the gradual implementation, within the framework of collective labor contracts, of branch agreements concluded to date, reserving priority for trade groups short of staff. The congress recommends abstension from new collective labor contracts until the National Commission determines principles for proceedings in this field. This does not rule out possible current consultations with the employer.

We will seek to fix uniform methods for determining payments and to guarantee freedom for shaping them within the enterprise. If any trade group is a party in several branch agreements, the basic wages provided for in the collective contract are to be based on that group's average wages.

The National Commission will set up a wage commission with the priority task to work out draft reforms for the wage system and for collective contracts.

THESIS 10 -- WORKING CONDITIONS MUST BE SAFE AND HARMLESS TO HEALTH.

1. The union will advocate steps to produce machines, equipment and tools in line with the requirements to guarantee appropriate working conditi[illegible] The union will seek to eliminate dangerous, harmful to health and particularly one[illegible]ous jobs.

2. The union will regard as a priority task the formation on new principles of a trade union institution for labor inspection. In the sphere of labor safety and hygiene, the union's activity will be coordinated by a special cell set up under the National Commission.

The cell will in particular:

-- Compile and publish a collection of labor safety and hygiene regulations for factory commissions;

-- Legally regulate problems involving working conditions and safety, and in particular:

A) Legally regulate issues connected with post-accident indeminizations and the insurance system;

B) Ratify the ILO convention guaranteeing the union's participation in defining admissible labor norms.

3. In case labor safety and hygiene conditions are substantially neglected, the union will make use of its statutory rights, including ordering its members to abstain from work. Factory commissions have the duty to currently control the observation of the highest permissible concentration and intensity standards.

4. The National Commission will take immediate steps to extend the rights due to first-category workers on all jobs (but not trades) with particularly onerous, harmful and dangerous working conditions.

5. The National Commission will take similar steps to change regulations concerning the protection of workers who, as a result of a labor accident or a professional illness, have lost their abilities to continue with their previous jobs. New regulations should obligate the enterprise to pay such workers constant allowances compensating for the difference in their wages.

6. At self-governing and self-financing enterprises, the union will demand economic and financial planning taking into account the need to improve working conditions. The union will control the implementation of those plans and outlays for labor safety and hygiene (trade unions, health services, labor safety and hygiene, social and other services) must be coordinated.

THESIS 11 -- THE LABOR LAW MUST GUARANTEE THE SOCIAL AND WORKERS' RIGHTS OF THE CITIZENS.

The union notes the need for a deep reform in the labor law and the system of social insurances, and particularly the need:

-- To abrogate all restrictions on the freedom to choose work;

-- To equalize the parities in a labor contract in their rights and obligations;

-- To obtain from the union the legislating initiative in the sphere of labor and social insurances. The union should have the right to oppose draft regulations in the field of labor relations and social insurances;

-- To be able to conclude collective labor contracts for individual groups of trades, branches and enterprises;

-- To settle all disputes involving labor relations by particular two-instance [instancja] courts;

-- Not to apply disciplinary punishments restricting the worker's right to wage, holiday and insurance benefits;

-- To create sections and jobs reserved for pregnant women;

-- To extend labor protection to prisoners.

In cooperation with the union's commission for the reform of the labor law and social insurances, the union will work out its own appropriate draft regulations.

V

Solidarity Society -- Social Policy

THESIS 12 -- THE UNION SEEKS TO CHANNEL THE INITIATIVE STIMULATED BY THE SOCIAL PROTEST IN FAVOR OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE IMMEDIATE COMMUNITY.

The centralistic system of social policy has proved to be incoherent and ineffective. It has created a feeling of deep discontent within society and is responsible for the fact that people passively wait for the benefits dispensed by the state. Social policy must be subject to genuine socialization.

The union adopts the following tenets of social policy:

1. The scope of the union's activities should be adjusted to the typical features of the community, branch and region. The union will stipulate the main lines of action and the hierarchy of activities, rejecting the schemes for the present solutions (for example, the union will not draw up detailed instructions for the factory commissions).

2. The factory commission in enterprises will primarily keep watch over the conditions of work, wages and employment. Other tasks will be implemented in the homes. Factory commissions will establish cooperation with the social organizations in the immediate neighborhoood. Assistance offered by strong factory commissions will encourage the development of local self-government.

3. The inhabitants' self-government groups in housing settlements, various local associations and social initiatives should play an auxiliary role vis-a-vis the territorial self-government group, which makes decisions on wider social issues and reconciles the workforces' conflicting interests.

4. The decisions on the issues concerning all the people and the efforts to align the regions' and branches' diverging interests should be controlled by social bodies (for example, it is necessary to restore the supervision council of the Social Security Agency (ZUS) to its proper status).

5. While implementing the idea of social self-help, the union insists that expert social services be established and rapidly developed and, in particular, support the professional training of social workers.

THESIS 13 -- THE UNION DEFENDS THE RIGHT OF THE FAMILY TO HAVE ITS BASIC NEEDS SATISFIED AND ITS DEVELOPMENT TO TAKE PLACE IN SECURITY.

The task of family policy is to ensure the necessary health, material and educational conditions for the development of the young generation and of family life. The factory commissions and other agencies of the union will take action in order to:

1. Abolish night work for women in line with ILO convention 89;

2. Introduce staggered work time and ensure possibilities for mothers and pregnant women to work part-time;

3. See that those responsible observe their duty to transfer pregnant women to protected jobs and to ensure that such women can obtain maternity leave as of the 7th month of their pregnancy without having to surrender anything of their post-confinement leave of 98 days;

4. Safeguard the protected [chroniona] production of articles (for infants, children, handicapped people, old people and so on) and guarantee permanent availability of such articles in the market. The authorities' initiatives and the union's constant control are indispensable in that regard.

The union will support:

-- Local initiatives in favor of the families' self-help and self-defense -- the "Solidarity of Families," for example;

-- Family and premarital advice;

-- Efforts to create for families and single mothers living conditions that would not act as incentives for women to terminate pregnancy;

-- Activities of family caretakers in housing settlements.

In addition, the union will ask for:

1. Standardizing the principles on which family allowances are granted to all categories of working people (including worker-peasants) -- in line with the post-strike agreements. In the next few years, such allowances should become one of the elements for reducing the area of want, and this is why they should be differentiated in line with the incomes of a given family. Family allowances should be gradually raised to the level of the minimum cost of supporting a child.

2. Granting maternity and upbringing allowances to all mothers -- not only to working ones -- for a period of at least 3 years.

3. Expanding the kindergarten and changing the form of the care extended to children in nurseries and kindergartens. It is necessary to establish the Korczak [a Jewish protector of children during war] gardens and to make it possible for nuns to run nurseries and kindergartens.

4. Improving the system of loans.

5. Ratifying the ILO convention that bans night work in industry for women.

THESIS 14 -- THE UNION WILL DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF OLD, HANDICAPPED AND CHRONICALLY ILL PEOPLE.

The union expects the state to:

1. Introduce a uniform general system of normal and disability pensions with uniform criteria for granting benefits, depending on remuneration, length of service and working conditions;

2. Introduce special disability payments ensuring an existence minimum to persons who, either because of the age or because of ill health, are unable to work and are not entitled to pensions or disability payments;

3. Liquidate the old system of normal and disability pensions;

4. Introduce special privileges for old age pensioners and recipients of disability pensions (reduced rail fares and so on);

5. Subordinate the Commission for the Disabled and for Employment to the Social Security Agency.

The union will sponsor the development of household services for old and handicapped persons and the organization and establishment of homes for temporary sojourn.

The union will support social initiatives aimed at ensuring assistance for the chronically ill.

Via the factory commissions, the union will take care of the employees who retire, help them adapt themselves to new conditions and make it possible for them to keep in touch with their enterprises.

The union will fight the discrimination of handicapped people by:

1. Sponsoring and organizing the social and vocational rehabilitation of such people.

2. Calling for such means of communications and buildings that would make it possible for handicapped people to use them.

3. Supporting the establishment of new rehabilitation centers and the development of the production of rehabilitation equipment and other installations for handicapped people; the Solidarity Interregional Disability Fund will make possible the implementation of these aims.

4. Supporting the employees of the cooperatives for the disabled in implementing the rehabilitation tasks of cooperatives.

5. Promoting the factory commissions' activities aimed at increasing the number of protected jobs; this will make it possible to commit handicapped people to normal living.

THESIS 15 -- IN VIEW OF BIOLOGICAL DANGERS TO THE NATION, THE PROTECTION OF HEALTH IS AN AREA OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE UNION.

The social expectations concerning the protection of health are now greater than what the health service is able to do in this regard. There is a shortage of medicines, medical equipment, posts, premises, means of transportation and so on. The defective organization of the health service makes this state of affairs even worse.

Saving the nation's health and liquidating the biological dangers threatening it requires mobilizing the now limited resources and mapping out the most important action lines. The union regards as such lines:

1. The protection of maternity and of children's and young people's health.

2. Activities to ensure the complete supplies of medicines and other medical resources that are necessary to urgently save life and limb and to ensure the proper medical conditions in health service centers, the activity of the Solidarity pool of medicines will continue.

3. Activities to protect mental health and, especially, to create humane conditions in psychiatric hospitals and to complete the work on the mental health protection law in such a form as to make it impossible to use it in order to violate civic rights.

4. Activities to socially rehabilitate the people afflicted by alcoholism and drug addiction, especially those among young people, and to assist the families of such addicts.

5. Activities to improve the health care of old people and to supplement such care by social assistance.

The union takes the view that if the health service is to perform properly it is necessary to:

1. Entrust the decisions and control concerning the protection of health and the National Health Protection Fund (NFOZ) to territorial self-government groups.

2. Change the structure of the health service and the principles of financing the service by changing the system of social insurance within the framework of economic reform.

3. Ensure that all the health services (including industrial and departmental health services) are available [to everyone] and are properly utilized; the industrial health service should focus its efforts primarily on preventive measures, and the medical treatment (having made allowances for the specific conditions of work enterprises) should be taken over by suitably organized health centers at the place of living.

4. Entrust the task of alloting all vacancies in sanatoriums exclusively to the health service.

5. Make efforts to raise the professional ethics of the health service, which is related to the need to restore the profession to its proper status by, inter alia, changing the system of remuneration and reintroducing self-managing medical chambers [izby].

We ask the authorities to promptly present a report on the state of health protection, to draw up a register of the basic unsatisfied needs and to work out an action program for the immediate and more distant future.

THESIS 16 -- THE UNION FIGHTS FOR THE EFFECTIVE PROTECTION OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT.

The protection of the environment calls for:

1. Recognizing the supremacy of social aims over production aims.

2. Openness of decisionmaking processes and the establishment of conditions for social control in this regard.

3. The introduction into the economy of business accounting, which, taking into consideration the costs of the devastation of the environment, would effectively prevent the plundering of natural resources and would encourage the use of clean and pollution-less technologies.

In this connection we ask that:

1. The necessary importance of the issue of protecting the environment within the tenets of economic reform and its implementation be ensured.

2. An appropriate fund be fixed in the state budget for environmental protection, and the fund for environmental protection be preserved and put at the disposal of territorial self-governing bodies.

3. The laws and decrees concerning the protection of the environment be updated in such a way -- inter alia -- that the union is able to apply them.

4. The participation of representatives of social organizations and the associations contributing to the protection of the environment, in the representative bodies of all levels, be ensured.

5. Changing the production of the enterprises that are a danger to the environment, in particular, it is necessary to immediately work out and implement the plans for cleaning sea and fresh waters and for building communal and industrial purification plants.

6. Introducing the duty to publish complete information on the state of dangers to the environment and social health and supplementing school curricula by subjects dealing with the protection of the environment.

In order to implement the aforementioned tasks, the following recommendations are made:

1. To sponsor, at the level of the factory organizations concerned, activities such as control checks on the serviceability and full performance of protective installations; control of the observance of technological measures; and modernization of enterprises.

2. To subject to control the state of the environment in given regions, to encourage the establishment of various enterprises (cooperative enterprises, for example) which work to protect the environment, and to promote auxiliary [uboczna] production in existing enterprises.

3. The union gives opinion on government plans and on the legal acts in preparation.

THESIS 17 -- THE UNION DEMANDS RESPECT FOR MAN'S BASIC RIGHT TO HIS OWN APARTMENT AND PARTICIPATES IN DEVELOPING HOUSING AND COMMUNAL CONSTRUCTION IN IT NECESSARY TO:

1. Create opportunities for implementing initiatives in housing construction, especially cooperative housing construction; accelerate the development of building sites; use the potential of the industrial construction enterprises for the benefit of housing construction; comprehensively assist the producers of building materials and the enterprises and plants working for housing construction; and ensure the necessary quality of construction by -- inter alia -- abolishing piece-work and improving working conditions

2. Facilitate the establishment and development of communal, cooperative and private construction enterprises and small plants producing building materials.

3. Restore the autonomy of housing cooperatives and, at the same time, abandon patronage and factory-sponsored construction; the union should see that the new independent housing cooperatives have the right to be registered.

4. Create conditions for rationally developing individual housing construction (in towns and villages) and ensure fiscal, material and technical assistance [for it].

5. Prevent the construction of housing settlements in polluted areas and the use of health-endangering materials.

6. Modernize and expand communal and service installations in towns, small towns and villages.

7. Abolish all regulations that make it impossible to exchange apartments, regardless of their character and type.

8. Normalize apartment rents to safeguard the apartment resources and ensure funds to repair apartments and funds to provide apartment grants for the economically poorest sections of the population; the factory commissions should change the tenets of using the apartment fund and introduce new forms of using this fund, grants to supplement the apartment rents paid by poorer people, increased assistance for old age pensioners and recipients of disability pensions, increased payments to meet the cost of capital overhauls, and so on.

The regional boards will assume social supervision over the implementation of housing policy and over the correctness of town and country planning and will ensure social control over the design and construction of new housing settlements.

THESIS 18 -- THE UNION WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT EVERY EMPLOYEE HAS THE NECESSARY AMOUNT OF TIME OFF WORK AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO USE IT FOR CULTURAL PURPOSES.

1. In order to ensure for every working man a time that is truly time off work, the union will take measures to establish the best possible organization of working time and to create conditions making it possible to freely choose forms of recreation and entertainment.

2. The union will seek the introduction of a legal principle of a 5-day workweek for all employees and the gradual implementation of this principle as the economy improves; the union should see that employment on Saturdays and Sundays -- employment necessary for social reasons -- of the people working in the communal, trade, service, cultural, entertainment, sporting and other sectors is compensated by time off work within a week, month or year.

3. The union will take action to make it possible to correctly use one's vacation with the help of:

-- Fiscal assistance from the social and trade union funds, dispensed so as to guarantee social equality of opportunity;

-- The development of the network of centers for the so-called specialist vacations offering rest programs and entertainment;

-- The provision of conditions for various forms of vacation traveling, for getting to know the country and for specialist tourism.

4. The union will seek recovery of the vacation centers administered by the Industrial Branch Trade Unions; these centers and the factory and departmental rest facilities should be gradually transferred to the specialized local and national services. In the transition period the union will seek to make these facilities available to the employees of poorer factories.

5. The union sponsors and supports the establishment of the interfactory and housing settlement clubs of physical culture, the purpose of which will be to organize active recreation, rehabilitation and sports.

VI

Self-Governing Republic

THESIS 19 -- PLURALISM OF VIEWS AND SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL PLURALISM SHOULD BE THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE SELF-GOVERNING REPUBLIC.

1. Public life in Poland requires profound and comprehensive reforms which should result in a permanent introduction of the principle of self-government, democracy and pluralism. This is why we will seek both to transform the structure of the state and to create and support independent and self-governing institutions in all spheres of social life. Only such a direction of changes will ensure the agreement of public life's organization with the needs of the human being, society's ambitions and the Poles' national aspirations. These changes are also necessary to overcome the economic crisis. We regard pluralism, democratization of the state and the opportunity to make full use of constitutional freedoms as the basic guarantee that the working people's toil and sacrifices will not be once again wasted.

2. Our union is open to cooperation with various social movements, above all with the other unions that were set up after August 1980 and belong to the common movement of Solidarity -- the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Private Farmers, the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Artisans, the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Private Transport Drivers -- and the independent, self-governing trade unions of those groups of employees who -- because of the regulations in force -- have not been able to join Solidarity. Those regulations should be changed. The freedom to form trade unions and the employee's freedom to choose his trade union is of fundamental importance in Poland today. That is why we attach the greatest importance to the trade union law, which should guarantee these freedoms.

3. Our union has close links with the "Patronat" Independent Union of Students, with the independent scout movements and other organizations that help implement the August agreements and Solidarity's statutory tasks.

Those organizations and associations meet with difficulties in their activities and in obtaining registration. This is why we think it necessary to pass a new law on associations to ensure the full freedom of citizens to form associations.

4. We take the view that the principles of pluralism must be applied in political life. Our union will support and protect civic initiatives whose aim is to present to society various political, economic and social programs and to form organizations in order to implement such programs.

On the other hand, we are against the notion that our union's statutory authorities should form organizations whose character is that of political parties.

5. Our union professes the principle of pluralism in the trade union movement and sees the possibility for loyally coexisting with other trade unions.

6. Pluralism will always be threatened if we fail to carry through an overall reform of the penal law -- a reform of the general rules of punishment and, in particular, of those regulations of the penal law and other penal decrees that were or can be applied to smother civic freedoms.

THESIS 20 -- GENUINE SELF-MANAGEMENT OF EMPLOYEES WILL BE THE BASIS OF THE SELF-GOVERNING REPUBLIC.

The system that combines political and economic power and is based on the unceasing interference by party elements with the functioning of enterprises is the main reason for our economy's crisis and for the absence of equal opportunities in vocational and professional life. The party's powers of appointment [nomenklatura] make impossible any kind of rational personnel policy and turn millions and millions of nonparty people into second-class employees. Today the only way to change this situation is to create genuine employee self-management groups, which would make the workforces true masters of enterprises.

Our union asks that the cooperatives be restored to their self-managing character. It is necessary to adopt a new law to protect cooperatives against the state's administrative interference.

THESIS 21 -- THE TRUE REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES MUST BE TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT GROUPS, WHICH ARE LEGALLY, ORGANIZATIONALLY AND FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT.

Genuine territorial self-government groups must be based on free elections, which should make it possible for the persons put forward by social organizations and by groups of citizens to stand as candidates. It is necessary to ensure conditions for an election campaign, during which various programs and various candidates will compete with each other. The next elections to the people's councils should be held in line with the presented principles. Solidarity will be most resolute in seeing this through, and that is why a draft of new election rules will be drawn up by 31 December 1981 and presented to the Sejm, after consultations with Solidarity members.

The territorial self-government bodies must be given powers to make decisions on local issues as a whole; in this regard they can be supervised only by the law-appointed state bodies charged with seeing that the law is observed. In case of a dispute between the self-government bodies and the bodies of administration the courts should arbitrate. Territorial self-government bodies must have the right to engage in economic activities. They must also be able to conclude accords among themselves. In order to implement their tasks, territorial self-government bodies must have public and legal status and the right to independently levy fiscal resources (local taxes).

The first Solidarity congress instructs the National Commission to work out a draft bill on territorial self-government bodies. The resulting law will help implement the aforementioned principles. The bill will be subjected to consultations in the same way as the bill on electoral rules, and will then be presented to the Sejm.

Solidarity will also support self-government initiatives, especially the self-help actions to fight the increasing crisis.

THESIS 22 -- SELF-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS AND BODIES SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE LEVEL OF THE HIGHEST STATE AUTHORITIES.

1. It is necessary to grant to trade unions the right to legislative initiative.

2. We will seek to ensure that the Sejm regains its role as the supreme power in the state and that the amended electoral rules, which enable all political parties, social organizations and groups of citizens to freely put forward their candidates, before the Sejm's universally acclaimed character of representation.

3. We think it desirable to examine the need for setting up a self-government body (a self-government chamber or a social-economic chamber) at the level of the highest authorities of the state. The task of such a body would be supervision over the implementation of the economic reform program, over economic policy and over similar bodies at lower levels.

THESIS 23 -- THE SYSTEM MUST GUARANTEE BASIC CIVIC FREEDOMS AND RESPECT THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW AS FAR AS ALL CITIZENS AND ALL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ARE CONCERNED.

This calls for:

1. Implementing the principles and decisions of the international conventions ratified by Poland and, in particular, the international covenants of rights.

We see a guarantee for that in Poland's ratification of the protocol to the international covenants of civic and political rights, which provides for international control over the implementation of the covenant's decisions.

2. Including a clear statement in the Constitution on the principle of the equality of citizens, regardless of their convictions, political views and organizational affiliation.

3. Subordinating all elements of public life, including political and social organizations, to the law. It is therefore necessary to change the constitutional enactments concerning the legal status of those organizations and to unambiguously define their legal position vis-a-vis the Sejm and other bodies of the administration authorities.

4. Setting up an independent constitutional tribunal (or a corresponding chamber within the Supreme Court), whose task will be issuing judgments on the agreement of the laws with the Constitution and of the lower level decrees with the laws. The agreement of the domestic law with the ratified conventions and with the international covenants of rights should also be examined.

5. Updating the regulations on assemblies, associations and passports (the passport law should include the right to freely choose one's residence abroad and to return to Poland). Decisions curbing civic freedoms should be subject to judicial control.

6. Introducing complete openness of public life, one condition of which is citizens' access to the documents of the administrative authorities. Restrictions on the openness of public life and on access to documents should be clearly defined by law.

THESIS 24 -- THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT, AND THE APPARATUS OF PROSECUTION SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO SOCIAL CONTROL.

In order to implement the above it is necessary to:

1. Carry out a deep reform of the judicial system and to ensure that its independence is absolutely observed.

This can be guaranteed by:

A) Setting up completely self-governing bodies in the judiciary, which would possess, inter alia, a decisive vote concerning all the judicial appointments and the appointment of the president of the court.

B) Observing the principle that the function of the judge must not be combined with any other public service, especially service in political organizations, and that judges cannot be transferred or removed, except that they can be removed only through disciplinary action or illness.

These guarantees should be recorded in the amended law on the system of general courts and in the law on the Supreme Court.

These laws should also make it possible to recall a judge on the motion of the general assembly of judges within the transition period of 1 year as of the law becoming valid.

Moreover, it is necessary for the Supreme Court to abolish the practice of appointing judges for a term.

C) Appointing lay assessors and members of the college for offenses by direct elections in order to increase society's share in the administration of justice.

2. Abolish the institution of state economic arbitration and subject economic disputes to court arbitration.

3. Ensure institutional guarantees for the correct functioning of the bodies of the administration of justice by:

A) Reinstating the institution of an independent investigating judge, who should be solely responsible for carrying out investigations and making decisions, including the decision on applying temporary detention.

B) Reforming the prosecutor's office in order to reduce its role in penal proceedings to the function of accuser and to subordinate it to the minister of justice; prosecutors should be guaranteed independence when making decisions in connection with the cases dealt by them.

C) Ensuring full independence and self-government for lawyers; defense attorneys should have the right to participate in the initial proceedings, regardless of whether the prosecuting organs agree.

D) Taking away from the board for offenses charges that may involve the punishment by arrest [areszt] or punishment by restricted freedom [organiczenie wolnosci] and transferring them to the general courts; the minister of justice should supervise the board for offenses.

4. Adopt a law on the citizens militia that would make it an organ charged with maintaining public order and not with interfering in citizens' political lives; the linking of the two tasks has become a reason for far-reaching distortions in the militia's performance. It is necessary to adopt a separate law on the security service. Both laws should define the scope of those bodies' powers and the way in which social control is exercised over their performance.

5. Carry out -- in the field of the applicable penal law -- separate measures to settle the situation of political prisoners, unambiguously define the right and duties of all prisoners and subject penitentiaries to social control. The centers for social adaptation should be liquidated completely.

THESIS 25 -- IN THE LEGALLY GOVERNED POLAND NO ONE MUST BE PERSECUTED FOR HIS CONVICTION OR FORCED TO ACT AGAINST HIS CONSCIENCE.

On the strength of paragraph 4 of the Gdansk agreement the union expresses its resolution and readiness to defend the people who suffer repression for professing their political convictions. We will demand the implementation of the decisions of the Warsaw accord in the section on freeing political prisoners and the issuance of the law to terminate the present penal proceedings against people accused of opposition activities.

All the accessible resources will be employed in defense of the union's functionaries who are subjected to repression.

Concerning the necessary changes in the penal code and in the penal proceedings code, we are for liquidating the regulations that serve to combat -- with the help of penal repression -- the ideological and political views that differ from the views promoted by the party and government.

The period of detention should be reduced to 24 hours and the justification of such detention should be controlled by the investigating judge in order to eliminate the cases in which such detention was a form of repression.

In the legally governed Poland no one must be forced to act against his convictions. As for people whose convictions and principles forbid them to do military service and carry arms, it should be possible for them to do some other kind of public service.

The union will defend those suffering repression for trade union, political and civic activities.

THESIS 26 -- THE PERSONS GUILTY FOR BRINGING THE COUNTRY TO RUIN MUST BEAR FULL CONSEQUENCES.

We demand that the circumstances of shooting at workers and of persecutions in Poznan in 1956 and in the maritime region in 1970 be clarified and the guilty be revealed. We also demand clarification of the militia's brutal actions against students in 1968 and against the people of Radom and Ursus in 1976. This demand also applies to the perpetrators of the Bydgoszcz provocation. The persons guilty of violations of the rule of law should bear the penal and disciplinary consequences provided by the law.

Such consequences should also be borne by those who through their activities in 1970-80 brought the country to economic ruin. Those holding the highest leading posts in the party and the state must not be able to avoid such consequences.

The principle of equality before the law, an elementary sense of justice and the need to make the present changes credible compel the union to categorically demand that the demand in question be met. If penal proceedings in the aforementioned cases are not instituted by 31 December 1981, the National Commission will appoint a social tribunal which, having held a public trial, will pass a verdict on [osadzi] and brand [napietnowac] the guilty.

THESIS 27 -- THE YOUNG GENERATION OF POLES MUST HAVE GUARANTEED THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR PHYSICAL, MENTAL AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT.

The upbringing of our children must remain in our hands. The union will determinedly oppose efforts to subordinate the system of education and upbringing to the party and state authorities' political, economic and ideological interests. We will fight to see that children and youngsters have full access to national and world culture, that every child enjoys equal opportunities for development, and that children are educated in truth and in respect for the individuality of man.

The union will support:

-- Activities aimed at fully meeting the needs of the children from low-income families and at facilitating the progress of young people hailing from sections and regions that are educationally neglected;

-- Activities aimed at fully improving the system by which care is taken of the children who are deprived of homes and those requiring special attention;

-- Initiatives aimed at improving the system of preventive measures and at combating pathological social phenomena such as, for example, young people's alcoholism, drug addiction and nicotine addiction;

-- The young people's self-government movement and their efforts to organize themselves into free and independent associations and unions;

-- All independent initiatives aimed at setting up new educational and upbringing centers helping to meet genuine social needs.

The union will fight for the genuine influence of parents on the aims, contents and methods of their children's training and upbringing in educational-upbringing centers and through the mass media.

Cells for young people's affairs should be set up under the National Commission and the regional boards.

THESIS 28 -- CULTURE AND EDUCATION MUST BE AVAILABLE FOR EVERYONE; THEY REQUIRE THE UNION'S CARE AND ASSISTANCE.

1. Culture and education must not be used to impose uniform convictions and to foster attitudes of submission and passiveness.

2. "Our nation's history has proved that -- condemned many times to death -- it has survived and preserved its identity, not because of physical strength, but exclusively because of its own culture." (John Paul II) This is why the authorities' present policy, which has brought culture and education to a state of catastrophe, must be changed.

The purpose of economic and social reforms must be not only improvements in the material conditions, but the development of society's culture and education as well. We want not only to eat, but also to live in a worthy and enlightened way.

3. In the light of the ravages inflicted on our culture and education and in the light of the increasing economic crisis the union should work out an action plan to achieve the following:

A) New Sejm laws on national education, higher schools, the press and publishing agencies -- laws that meet the needs of society;

B) Liquidation of the present harmful legal and organizational solutions (for example, the decrees on the curriculum of the 10-grade school, the central management of education and culture, changes affecting the use of school premises);

C) Support for all initiatives aimed at promoting active participation in culture and at making culture available for the most neglected communities;

D) Acquisition -- when the national income is divided -- of the necessary funds for education, culture and science and creation of other sources of their financing than state funds; in particular, cultural institutions and units should be financially self-sufficient as long as this is possible and as long as this does not cause social losses;

E) Setting up the social fund for national culture (in the tradition of the Mianowski Fund).

4. This plan must be part of a more extensive social program for rescuing culture and education -- a program created in cooperation with employee and territorial self-management and self-government groups, social organizations as well as creative and scientific associations. The union will support the local and employee self-government and self-management groups in their efforts to act as patrons to culture and art.

5. Solidarity activities in culture and education will be coordinated by the Solidarity Council of Culture and Council of National Education, which will be set up by the National Commission.

THESIS 29 -- THE UNION WILL SUPPORT AND PROTECT ALL INDEPENDENT MEASURES AIMED AT SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

One of the most serious reasons for the present crisis of culture and education is the state's monopoly in these fields. Society must become the master of its own culture and education.

The state should provide legal, fiscal and organizational resources needed to implement the aims and values created and acclaimed by society.

1. The union will support and protect the social and independent educational, cultural and artistic measures and the efforts of various groups and organizations to create their own cultural, artistic, educational and upbringing centers. The union will cooperate with self-governing creative and scientific associations.

2. The union recognizes the need for genuine autonomy of employee self-management groups in cultural and educational centers and for social control over them.

3. Efforts to raise the standards of technical culture by tapping the creative energy of engineers and technicians are a crucial element of rehabilitating national culture. The union will support the establishment and activity of independent technical associations and the rationalizing movement.

4. Autonomous social bodies created at suitable levels (for example, like the social commission for national education or the social council of culture) should engage in the way accepted by the entire nation in defining cultural and educational policy and deal with distributing funds for this purpose. The administration should play merely the role of a servant.

5. The union will set up its own cultural, educational and scientific centers, will organize its own publishing agency based on the printing equipment of the defunct Central Trade Union Council and will begin preparations for setting up its own independent university.

THESIS 30 -- THE UNION WILL SUPPORT THE FREEDOM OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND THE SELF-GOVERNMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITIES.

Subordinating science to political considerations has been responsible for the fact that science has been unable to effectively counter the social and economic crisis.

The union expects the scientific communities to render expert and reliable assistance in implementing the union's program. That is why the union will support the efforts of the scientific communities to:

1. Ensure the self-governing character of science and make it independent of administrative and political factors.

2. Provide conditions for applying the results of research in the country's social, cultural and economic life.

3. Initiate research into the dangers to human life and limb in enterprises and in places of living.

In addition, it is necessary to look for opportunities to maintain the scientific potential (personnel, apparatus, scientific periodicals and books), which is threatened by the present crisis and by the costs of economic reform.

THESIS 31 -- THE UNION WILL FIGHT AGAINST HYPOCRISY AND LIES IN ALL SPHERES OF LIFE BECAUSE OUR SOCIETY WANTS TO LIVE IN TRUTH AND HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE SO.

Speaking and printing the truth is a must for the development of social awareness and for maintaining national identity. We must know the truth of our times so we can build a better future.

1. We regard censorship in mass media as an evil we tolerate only for the time being and out of necessity. We reject censorship in science and art. Nor can censorship deny the nation's right to know history and literature. Censorship's abuses will in each case be opposed by the union.

2. The very propaganda language, which damages our wonted way of expressing thoughts and feelings, is a dangerous tool of lies. The union will seek to give back to society the Polish language that makes it possible for people to truly understand each other.

3. The union will support the development of independent publishing agencies because their activities are some of the ways to spread the truth and to overcome the trammels of censorship.

4. We have suffered particularly grievous losses through the lies and omissions in the instruction of history and literature. It is the union's duty to support all measures aimed at teaching the truth about our history and culture.

5. Solidarity education and publications are some of the resources we have to spread the truth about ourselves. With their help we will foster the knowledge of what state instruction ignores or falsifies.

6. The union will support veterans' independent initiatives aimed at ridding our national history of lies and at recognizing the true merits of the people who sacrificed their health and lives in the struggle for Poland's independence and sovereignty.

THESIS 32 -- THE MEANS OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION ARE A SOCIAL PROPERTY; THEY MUST SERVE ALL OUR SOCIETY AND BE SUBJECTED TO ITS CONTROL.

The union's struggle for access to mass media is a struggle in the interest of all social communities and for the entire society's rights.

The union demands that the constitutional principles of freedom of speech and exchanges of views be observed. Therefore:

1. The union deems it inadmissible to interfere with the reception of information by jamming radio broadcasts, confiscating publications, tearing down posters and so on.

2. The union will participate in preparing the social draft law on publications, which should include all the means of social communication. The congress instructs the union's authorities to decisively support the socially accepted draft law.

3. The union will consistently seek to have the authorities recognize and implement the right of the citizens and their organizations to possess publishing agencies and access to radio and television. In the case of organizations, the share in question should match their size and true social significance. We need social control over the allotment of paper, printing facilities, radio and television time and access to radio and television technical facilities.

4. The union is against all forms of information monopoly. The union demands an abolition of the state administration's monopoly in running radio and television because this is contrary to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This means that the union demands that the 1960 law on the Committee for Radio and Television be changed. The union will take action to institute genuine social control over radio and television by appointing a managing and executive body representing the government, political parties, trade unions, religious associations, social organizations, creative communities and self-management groups of the employees who produce and beam the programs.

5. The union's activities to date concerning Solidarity's running participation in the means of social communication have not been adequate. It is necessary to implement as soon as possible the decisions on the means of social communication ratified by the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP]. At the same time, we demand the establishment of independent editorial boards of Solidarity within the central and local units of radio and television.

6. The union will defend its members employed in the institutions of social communication and journalists who observe the principles of professional credibility and honesty. We recognize the right of editorial boards to share in the decisions concerning the appointment and dismissal of chief editors. The Association of Polish Journalists deals with the issues of the honesty and professional ability of all journalists and with the self-governing character of editorial boards. The union will support the association's efforts in this field.

7. The union will set up its own information, photographic, videotape, movie and recording agencies and press publications. The union's authorities should take action to set up on general principles the union's central press and information agency.

8. It is necessary to appoint -- within the National Commission -- a council for dealing with the means of social communication.

9. In line with Article 83, Enactment 2 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, the union demands that it be enabled to set up its own radio stations and to beam its own programs.

10. In the struggle for access to radio and television and for reform of the means of social communication, the union will use all the resources provided for by the statute.

VII

Our Union

The foundation of the union's life is democracy based on the principle that the will of the majority is decisive while the views of the minority are respected. Subordination to the Solidarity authorities' decisions made in line with that principle guarantees unity of action. The statute is the basic document stating the rules of democracy in the union. Bearing in mind its practical interpretation, we assume that all those activities are permitted that the statute does not expressly forbid. This makes it possible to enrich the union's life with new forms.

Observing the principles of tolerance vis-a-vis various views, the union's authorities and all union members should together decidedly oppose violations of statutory norms.

Democracy in internal life, discipline in action and honesty of the union's members are the source of the union's strength.

THESIS 33 -- MEMBERS OF OUR UNION HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR OPINION AND WILL, AND TO FREELY ORGANIZE THEMSELVES FOR IMPLEMENTING COMMON GOALS.

The effectiveness of the union's activity depends on various ties linking its members. These ties enhance the resources and forms of activity, ensuring the genuine character of our movement and helping it achieve social order. Creating these ties requires free exchanges of views and alignment of positions.

1. Regions

The basic ties among the union's members are created in factory organizations, which are combined into regions in line with the principles laid down in the statute. The transformations of the regions should be effected on democratic principles under the supervision of the National Council so that it is possible to create regions that are territorially coherent and, if feasible, are flush with the administrative boundaries.

It is necessary to create regions which are strong enough to be able to provide the necessary organizational and technical base for the factory organizations associated with them. We should avoid drawing regional borders across voivodships, because this would make it impossible for the union to effectively deal with the administrative authorities.

2. Intermediate Echelons

The practice of union life has resulted in the establishment of various intermediate echelons between the factory organizations and the authorities of the regions. The union's authorities should back the activity of these echelons organizationally, financially and technically. The intermediate echelons' main task is to assist the factory commissions in the field of information, advisory service, training and so on as well as in the field of setting up the centers of union life, defending the interests of local communities and influencing the local bodies of power and administration.

3. Professional, branch and other sections

Sections support and supplement the activity of the union's authorities in defending the interests of various groups of employees and members. This must not lead to infringing on the interests of other groups. The basic tasks of the sections include:

A) Initiating and coordinating the work concerning their problems, especially collective contracts;

B) Representing the interests of a given group vis-a-vis the union's authorities;

C) Intervening, on the authority of the union's authorities, with the state administration.

The present practice shows that representatives of the section, whose problems are solved by the union's authorities, must participate more extensively in solving such problems.

4. Accords

Accords that are reached by factory commissions, groups of members, and individual members and operate outside the statutory forms of the organization contribute to fulfilling the union's statutory principles and to expanding the union's initiative. These accords can operate as groups of programmatic, economic, social and other initiatives. Creating the necessary conditions for existence and activity for various accords, the union's authorities should not act as their organizers.

5. The Means of Expressing and Shaping Opinion

The means of union information are the main way to propagate the unfalsified knowledge of the aims and methods of the union's activities and to formulate the position of the union's members on current social, economic and political issues. That is why union authorities should take special care of the organization and the technical-material base of information and ensure the necessary conditions for the work of information services. It is necessary to ensure that the union's information service is competitive in range vis-a-vis the mass media monopolized by the party-state apparatus.

The most important present tasks in this regard are:

A) To increase the number of copies of SOLIDARNOSC weekly to about 1 million;

B) To set up a national daily;

C) To publish regional periodicals as far as possible;

D) To publish an internal daily and weekly in each region;

E) To ensure the necessary technical conditions for developing a national flow of information (a daily information service and roundups of publicist materials) on the basis of the existing centers (the BIPS [the Solidarity Press Information Bureau] and the AS [the Solidarity Press Agency]) and of the network of regional information bureaus;

F) To improve the sales of printed matter in the regions (with the help of the ABC system, for example) and other systems of communications;

G) To set up libraries within the regional boards and factory commissions.

The Solidarity information units, press and publishing agencies seek to be self-supporting in their current activities.

Fighting to ensure the freedom of speech, the union should observe this principle with regard to its own mass media, and this is why the union's bodies, which are organizationally in charge of the editorial boards, must not interfere with the current work. They must leave them freedom with regard to editorial policy, except at the periods when the union is especially threatened (protest actions, strike readiness, strike). At such times, the bodies in question take over completely.

The educational-upbringing work done by [Solidarity] universities [wszechnice] is indispensable for the union. The purpose of these universities' activity is to propagate knowledge that is free from falsehoods and omissions, to extend the knowledge of functionaries, to raise civic awareness and to promote self-education. These universities should use differentiated methods of activity: lectures, training, seminars, clubs of initiatives, reading rooms and publishing.

This will enable them to reach all communities, especially factories. Maintaining a variety of their programs and methods, the universities in question keep in touch in order to exchange experience and information. Regional boards or factory commissions finance the activity of these universities.

The main task of information, educational-training and advisory activity is to work out a system for creating ties between all union members, union authorities and union echelons. These ties will encourage basing our organization's entire life on the principles of plurality of views and unity of action.

THESIS 34 -- DECISIONS AND ACTIVITY OF UNION BODIES SHOULD BE BASED ON THE RELIABLE KNOWLEDGE OF UNION MEMBERS' VIEWS AND WILL.

Union members must have a crucial influence on the activity of union authorities. This influence is exercised through the mechanism of elections and through expressing the views on all issues concerning the union. The flow of information and the openness of union life are required for the correct shaping of opinion.

1. Union Authorities' Decisions and Activity

In their activities the union authorities must be guided by the position of the majority. To ensure the openness of union life, the authorities and revision commissions of all levels should inform members of their work by publishing documents, especially final documents, pertaining to all official talks and negotiations.

National and regional authorities are obliged to cooperate with the centers doing social and trade work and with branch and trade sections. Members of the union's authorities have the duty to regularly meet with their electorate.

2. Organization of Programmatic Work

The correct functioning of representative democracy depends on the union authorities' knowledge of the views of as extensive masses of members as possible. Organized programmatic work must ensure the necessary flow of these views and their synthesis. Programmatic theme groups (concerned with wages, working conditions and employment, for example) composed of trade union functionaries and experts should operate under the national commission, regional boards and factory commissions.

At the same time, it is necessary to establish and develop centers for social trade work, the task of which is research work, expertise and programs for the union. These centers should work independently under the control of the program councils composed of the scientists, practitioners and functionaries who enjoy authority and have been appointed by union authorities.

The program teams should formulate questions on the basis of the postulates and concepts sent in by the individual factory organizations and on the basis of the materials submitted by the centers for social and trade work. These questions should be addressed to union members.

On the strength of the answer they receive, the teams:

-- Provide running information for union authorities about the popularity of the individual concepts and about the importance the consulted members attach to various issues;

-- Formulate recommendations concerning the union's information and propaganda;

-- Submit proposals for programmatic solutions to representative bodies to be deliberated by them.

Programmatic work so organized should:

-- Raise the substantive value of the adopted solutions;

-- Stimulate factory organizations to promote programmatic activities.

3. Research Into Factory [zakladowa] Opinion

Research into union [zwiazkowa] opinion in regions and throughout Solidarity by the method of sample polls is an equally important form of activity. The centers for social and trade work will be used for this research, which is necessary to ensure a credible and accurate knowledge of trade unionists' positions on all crucial issues. Such research determines the accuracy and speed of decisionmaking and helps strengthen Solidarity's hand in negotiations.

The National Commission should ensure the necessary resources for research into union opinion.

4. Direct Democracy

Aside from the forms of representational democracy, as laid down in the statute, the union should use some forms of direct democracy. One of them deserving special attention is the referendum, because of its range and the weight of the decision or position taken as a result of it. A referendum can be used at various levels of Solidarity, but it should be remembered that it must always be used very prudently, especially when at the all-Solidarity level. The National Commission makes the decision to hold a referendum at the above-region level. A referendum must be preceded by an information campaign to guarantee that various views are represented and to make possible a public discussion on the issues listed in the referendum questions.

Wishing to consult the opinions of union members, the Solidarity authorities should in each case accurately state whose opinion they want to hear and how. Such an honest conduct should be resorted to when citing members' opinions.

THESIS 35 -- ALIGNMENT OF VIEWS AND AGREEMENT -- AND, IF THEY FAIL, PROTEST ACTIONS -- ARE THE BASIC WAY OF IMPLEMENTING THE EMPLOYEE AND CIVIC INTERESTS OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS.

1. In its actions to meet the needs of Solidarity members, union authorities should use in the first place means that do not infringe on social peace. The basic way of action is to put forward union members' opinions and proposals to the corresponding bodies of the economic and state administration and -- in disputed questions -- to try to align positions by mutual consultations, working meetings and so on. If the regulations in force do not ensure that union members can influence the decision concerning them, Solidarity authorities are obliged to sponsor initiatives to change these regulations.

2. Union authorities have the duty to assume negotiations with the appropriate bodies of the state or economic administration on situations of conflict whose solution by agreement proves impossible. Union authorities appoint a negotiating team and define its powers and tasks. The negotiating team should have the power only to initial an agreement, which has to be approved by the Solidarity authority of the appropriate level. Preparations for negotiations should include, inter alia: studying the views of the union members concerned; defining the subject, aims and tactic of negotiations, and envisaging the results of negotiations. The Solidarity team should seek the openness of negotiations, which can be attended by experts, whose powers are defined by the negotiating team.

Each agreement should state an unambiguous deadline, ways and conditions of implementing the obligations contracted by the two sides.

3. When attempts to reach agreement fail, the Solidarity authorities may organize demonstrations and protest actions. The nature of such actions (economic, economic-political, political) is dictated by their causes and does not depend on the people to whom actions are addressed.

Each action should have precise aims and should be organizationally well prepared so as to be able to cope with possible difficulties.

Collective actions may have the character of demonstrating a position (as a form of pressure to proceed with negotiations or to implement earlier agreements) and of protest actions (against disadvantageous decisions or the nonfulfillment of concluded agreements).

Warning protest actions must stipulate definite deadlines for implementing demands and for launching the proper action when the warning fails. These actions are to show social determination and support for demands. Such actions include inter alia boycotts and warning strikes.

Strikes are the primary protest actions. Because of economic losses, strikes are the ultimate form of protest. Each strike should have unequivocally defined conditions for ending it. The national authorities [wladze krajowe] should see that manuals and regulations concerning negotiations and protest actions are urgently drawn up. In addition, the authorities at all levels should draw up organizational recommendations and instructions on short- and long-term methods of Solidarity's activity in threat situations such as a state of emergency or external intervention.

4. Decisions on negotiations and protest actions, on the scope and level of demands, and on conditions for final agreement must be based on a reliable knowledge of the views of the union members concerned. During negotiations and protests it is also necessary to consult members all the time so that decisions made by the negotiating teams or by Solidarity authorities agree with union members' positions and moods. The Solidarity authorities' duty is to comprehensively inform union members about the positions of the two sides and about the results of the successive waves of protest or negotiations.

Information and propaganda activities should be addressed, especially during tensions, not only to Solidarity members, but also to the entire nation. Guided by the interest of society, the union should see that everyone understands and accepts the aims for which it fights.

5. Basic aims are the ties linking all Solidarity members. The community of aims is the best guarantee that members live in accord and that Solidarity levels cooperate. However, should there be disputes or conflicts, they should be solved by agreement and reconciliation. It is in the good interest of Solidarity and all its members to avoid commandeering or disciplinary measures.

THESIS 36 -- EVERY SOLIDARITY MEMBER HAS THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO CONTROL AND CRITICIZE SOLIDARITY AUTHORITIES.

The activity of all Solidarity authorities is subject to control, and the openness of all activities engaged in by these authorities is the condition for control. The Solidarity authorities' resolutions and the revision commissions' reports must be published and must rapidly reach all the people concerned.

All Solidarity members have the complete freedom of criticizing the Solidarity authorities. They use this right at meetings and in the press. Those criticized have the right to reply.

Solidarity members and representational bodies control the activity of the union authorities through questioning, votes of no confidence and votes of confidence. Questions should be answered within the stated deadline. If the questioner thinks that the answer is inadequate, he can propose a vote of no confidence. Should a vote of no confidence be passed, the member of the authorities and a part of the authorities resign. The representational body may refuse to accept such a resignation, at the same time laying down the time and manner in which the issue in question should be settled. Representational bodies also may appoint special commissions to clarify the issues that cause disputes.

In line with the statute, the revision commissions also control the activity of Solidarity authorities. This involves collection of information, pointing out irregularities of activity and the way to eliminate them, and preparing opinions for the representational bodies.

VIII

New Social Accord

THESIS 37 -- SOLIDARITY DEMANDS A NEW SOCIAL ACCORD.

Solidarity guarantees the social accords of 1980 and demands that they be consistently implemented. There is no other way to save the country than by implementing the constitutional principle that the nation is sovereign.

Our union is drawing up its program at a time when the country is threatened by a catastrophe. We must not get used to living in a crisis. We must overcome the crisis.

ANTICRISIS ACCORD

The anticrisis accord must enable society to survive the coming hard winter months, indicate the lines of overcoming the crisis, and be the first test of cooperation between the power apparatus and society.

ACCORD ON ECONOMIC REFORM

The accord on economic reform requires cooperation between the power apparatus and society in favor of radically changing the present economic order. The reform should guarantee the factory management by work forces within the economic system that combines the rights of the market with socialized planning.

Hundreds and hundreds of accords signed by the government have remained bits of paper. The promises made by the power apparatus to the working people must be honored.

ACCORD FOR THE SELF-GOVERNING REPUBLIC

The accord on the self-governing republic must map out the lines and ways of democratizing the institutions of public life: the Sejm; the political, territorial and economic authorities; the judicial system; education; and so on. The implementation of this accord will settle the proper relations between citizens and the state.

The road to the self-governing republic is the only road for Poland -- strong internally -- to become credible as an equal partner for other nations.

The union treats the new social accord as an indivisible whole, one that is integrated.

The action program of Solidarity is primarily a pledge that the union assumes toward the country. We expect that our society will accept it. No individual or group interests can be placed above the country's interests. We do not think that we have the monopoly of truth. We are ready to talk in an honest and loyal dialogue with the power apparatus and to search for decisions which will serve the country in the best possible way and help meet the working people's working and civic interests.

The Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity is the guarantee of the 1980 social accords and demands that they be consistently implemented. There is no other road to the country's salvation than implementing the constitutional principle that the nation is sovereign.

[Signed] The congress of the delegates
Gdansk, 7 October 1981

Annex to the Program Resolution of the First National Congress of Delegates of the NSZZ Solidarity

Discussion Materials Relating to the Third Part of the Program "The Union's Attitude to the Crisis and to the Economic Reform"

This annex has been attached to the program in order to further develop Solidarity's position on economic issues. The annex should be discussed within the union in connection with the National Commission's final formulation of the position on economic policy.

Proposal 1: The Motivational Alternative (drafted by the delegates of the Lower Silesia region: Stanislaw Kielczewski, Antoni Gorazd, Leon Kieres and Michal Lewinski)

To begin with, we must answer the questions:

1. What kind of reform do we support and what kind will we oppose?

2. With what -- with what resources -- is it necessary to reverse the slump trend in the economy?

3. What role should ad hoc measures play?

The drafts put forward so far have the following defects:

1. Too much stress is laid on ad hoc measures, while sight is lost of a comprehensive and profound economic reform, which is the only opportunity for consistently overcoming the crisis.

2. They search for extraordinary ways to stimulate the economy, without appreciating the fact that the main way should be stimulating the ENTERPRISING SPIRIT of people and teams and at once UNLOCKING all the restraints that hamstring this spirit. We take the view that all the opportunities for ad hoc measures should be used under the condition that they will be integrated within the system of economic reform and WILL NOT CONFLICT WITH THE LOGIC OF THE REFORM.

3. They do not stipulate the social costs resulting from the selected method of economic reform.

The congress' task should not be settling all the issues connected with the reform and with overcoming the crisis. The congress should unambiguously define Solidarity's position on basic issues.

The conditions of the present economic system have lacked premises for tapping social energy. The quantity and quality of work done was just a fraction of potential possibilities. What is more, even such limited work results were wasted by the leadership, which was often incompetent and dishonest. This was because of the application of a doctrinal and artificial system of management, including a negative personnel policy. There were no motivations to induce people to work better and more effectively and to display initiative and an enterprising spirit. This helped intensify the blockage of reserves and material resources of our economy. Diligence, initiative and an enterprising spirit -- unable to find release within normal work done for a living -- found this release elsewhere: in another, independent and often illegal system of the economy's functioning. This system was an additional drag on the functioning of the basic system.

The purpose of the economic reform is to rehabilitate the normal principles of the functioning of the economy and thus to create conditions for fully tapping the industriousness and enterprise of citizens, teams and the entire society. The point is that:

-- It pays to work efficiently and display initiative and enterprise;

-- It is possible to define what does pay and what does not pay;

-- The people are really able to determine economic issues and the working and living conditions;

-- The authorities do not block but support by action all manifestations of an enterprising spirit in line with the national interest;

-- The main job is the basic source of meeting material needs and vocational-professional ambitions.

The establishment -- through the economic reform -- of the MANAGEMENT SYSTEM that will meet those conditions is the main line of Solidarity's activity because it will help us not only to overcome the crisis, but also to create the prospects for work and living that the union can accept. It is possible to overcome our crisis precisely because, by implementing a comprehensive and profound reform, we will be able to tap all those reserves by industriousness and enterprise rooted in our society that have not been tapped so far.

The management system that accords with expectations calls for reforming the present structures along the following basic lines:

1. Democratization of management;

2. Making the functioning of the economy an economic proposition;

3. Stimulating people through strong wage incentives;

4. Decentralizing decisions and structures.

Democratization of management must mean, in particular, efforts to ensure society's genuine influence on the decisions made by the authorities. This requires rehabilitating the proper relations between the Sejm and the government and ensuring that the Sejm is representative and that the basic economic decisions such as legal acts normalizing economic activities and the key socioeconomic plans, both in the part relating to tasks and in that relating to figures, are produced as exclusive Sejm enactments.

Democratization of management must mean creating conditions and practices to ensure that the Sejm really fulfills its control functions vis-a-vis the administration at all levels.

It must mean the institutionalized commitment of trade unions to consultations on and control over all issues connected with the country's economic life.

At the level of the people's councils, the democratization of management must mean efforts to ensure that these councils are representational and to create conditions for them to become genuine and self-governing masters in their own areas. It is necessary to create in enterprises the situation in which self-management groups are in true power, and the managers appointed by them are their plenipotentiaries equipped with prerogatives for day-to-day running the enterprises in line with the strategy mapped out by the self-management groups.

Making the functioning of the economy an economic proposition means a consistent application of economic laws in the management system. It is necessary to adopt feasible premises for developing the values that correspond to economic categories such as prices, taxation, loans and currency notations. It is necessary to rehabilitate the economic meaning of terms such as costs and profits.

In principle, prices should develop under the impact of the market mechanism, but -- only in the initial period of the functioning of the reformed system -- the government should be left with the indispensable prerogatives in the field of developing prices of the basic and scarce raw materials, fuels, energy and staple articles.

The state and the trade unions should possess effective means to control the correctness of the price policy in enterprises. Taxation, loans, currency notations and the principles of sharing profits should be the government's basic instrument in influencing the conduct of economic organizational units. The government should abandon the practice of all kinds of administrative commands. The state regulates the activity of enterprises with the help of economic instruments and its legislative functions. These measures should create objective conditions for rehabilitating cost effectiveness analysis and thereby for rationalizing decisions made at all levels.

The invigoration of the entire economy calls for radically enhancing the system of motivation, that is:

-- Enterprises must have enough resources for expanded production;

-- Part of the profits remaining in enterprises to be shared among the workers must be large enough to constitute an effective incentive for better and more productive work;

-- It is necessary to resolutely counter the egalitarian trends in wage policy and, at the same time, to ensure that there is total agreement between the true contribution of work and the size of the wage packet. In agreement with trade unions -- by an act of the Sejm -- it is necessary to define the socially justified range of incomes, bearing in mind that the motivation incentives must not be weakened and that the lowest wages must be protected. It is necessary to find a reasonable compromise between the wage schedules and the enterprises' freedom in wage policy.

In the sphere of organization it is necessary:

-- To liquidate the system of branch departments and associations that are superfluous from the viewpoint of logic;

-- To make crucial changes in the functioning of the central economic bodies and to reduce and exchange the personnel in view of the fact that a large part of that personnel has no necessary qualifications for the new tasks and that a considerable part of it is against present changes;

-- To adopt the principle that enterprises freely develop their internal and external organizational setups; while allowing the existence of [industrial] associations, it is inadmissible to apply the administrative system of management to them or within them.

The implementation of the aforementioned measures calls for the total modification of economic legislation. What the preparations for economic reform need are laws that comprehensively settle the basic problems of the economy's functioning. Solidarity should see that the government's normative acts and other decisions connected with economic reform are consistent with the aforementioned position on the issue of reform. This requires the creation of Solidarity's appropriate scientific base and the coordination of its activities with the government's work schedules in such a way that Solidarity's position be be worked out with THE NECESSARY ANTICIPATION. This issue is of basic significance in view of experience to date. It is also indispensable to see that Solidarity's scientific base gives its opinion on the government's detailed legal acts and economic policy during the implementation of the reform. Recognizing that its main line of action should support a comprehensive and profound reform, Solidarity deems it necessary to support and popularize all ad hoc initiatives and activities that are not against the logic of the reform and that help relax the difficult situation of society, in particular of the people who are especially exposed to the effects of the crisis.

Proposal 2: Evaluation of the Government Program for Overcoming the Crisis (Drafted by Stefan Kurowski, Grzegorz Palka, Waclaw Adamczak and Zbigniew Karwowski)

1. It was not until an economic catastrophe of the country and society's protests came to light that the government announced the program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy.

Our union must assume a clear position on that program because it envisages the activities that would determine the working people's material conditions for many years to come, which also actually would determine the potential of the social policy for which Solidarity is fighting.

2. The government program shows that the pre-crisis level of per capita income will not be achieved before 1990. In the industry this would be reflected in the low level of production because an enormous portion of production assets and manpower will not be used, whereas production investments would be kept at the high level that is unnecessary in such conditions. As for agriculture, the present privileged position of state farms would be maintained, while peasant farming would continue to be further discriminated against. Fully meeting the population's need in food would not occur before 1986. Housing construction is to be drastically reduced, but foreign indebtedness would increase because our economy would be unable to pay the interest on our loans.

The government program does not envisage tapping the economic initiative of the population and utilizing the mechanisms of the economic reform, while changing prices. In sum, it does not safeguard us against production slumps in the coming years.

3. As a result, the government program for overcoming the crisis would lead to a long-term slump in living standards. As is already visible, it is being implemented by the methods of a wartime economy with the help of the so-called anticrisis headquarters and of expanded central distribution policy. This will hinder or even frustrate the successful implementation of the economic reform -- that is, it will not ensure a rapid extrication from our crisis and will not fulfill the social hopes regarding further, rational development.

4. Proceeding from the aforementioned evaluation, our union deems it necessary to present to society an alternative program for overcoming the crisis -- one that would be economically and socially effective.

Alternative Program -- Conversion of Economy

1. The alternative programs' basic aim is to achieve a rapid increase in material production with the help of the present production assets in order to rapidly halt the slump in living standards of the working people and the entire society, and then to raise these standards. To achieve this aim it is necessary to provide the first strong impulse for the economy so that it can be taken out of its slump spiral and put on the course of increases. That first impulse must be produced mainly by what we have, namely, by a different employment of the production factors we have -- by radically switching the effort of our economy and by its radical conversion.

The following should be the main areas of such a conversion:

2. In the situation in which over 20 percent of our production assets worth about Z1 trillion stays unused, it is necessary to radically reduce production investments and to switch material supplies and technical potential, so freed, to supporting industrial production either directly or through the agency of foreign trade. In this way the most difficult aspect of industry -- supplies -- will be eased, industrial production will greatly increase, exports will increase as will imports, and there will be more goods in the market, which will help rehabilitate the economic ties between towns and villages and increase the availability of goods to match the population's incomes. The successful implementation of the economic reform is impossible without radical and rapid improvements in the supplies for industry.

3. Employment obtained as a result of the radical conversion of investments should be utilized for the rapid increase in employment in coal mining for the purpose of gaining an immediate increase in coal extraction without extending the work time of the miners.

4. It is necessary to switch some production supplies, mainly mineral fertilizers and fodder, from socialized farming to individual farming, which is much more effective on about the same area of land.

It is also necessary to transfer a part of the land that the socialized sector farms use inefficiently and to sell about 1 million hectares of such land to peasants. It is necessary to change the structure of farm imports in favor of plant protection chemicals and high protein fodder. Reductions in grain imports should pay for that.

In industry it is necessary to change the structure of farm machinery production in favor of machines, equipment and spare parts needed by individual farmers. In villages it is necessary to rehabilitate and expand small farm produce processing enterprises. These measures will spur rapid increases in food production and safeguard us permanently against the disaster of hunger.

5. It is necessary to make adjustments between the state sector and the nonagricultural private sector of production and services by selling or leasing unusued fixed and movable assets. For this purpose it is necessary to activate private capital, giving it the opportunity for lasting and socially useful economic activities and to seek to ensure that the nonagricultural private sector is able to additionally employ 1 million people in industry, construction and services.

In the state industry itself it is necessary to switch -- within the framework of economic reform -- a large part of ineffective production from large to small plants, which are able to produce more cheaply and effectively.

6. It is necessary to achieve considerable improvements in the results of our foreign trade. For this reason it is necessary to review our trade accords with foreign partners from the viewpoint of their true profitability and, on the basis of such reviews, negotiate better accords. To improve effectiveness in this regard, it is also necessary to curb the state monopoly in foreign trade by admitting individual enterprises to foreign markets. It is necessary to subject foreign trade to social control with Solidarity's participation. It is necessary to seek to postpone the repayment of our foreign debts and to improve the conditions of repayment. This will be made easier if the alternative program is implemented. Poland's accession to the IMF should be considered in this connection. It is necessary to take care of the increasing number of the emigrant workers so as to improve their material lot in the foreign countries in which they work and to gear their earnings to our economic life.

7. Some production factors should be temporarily shifted from the armaments industry to meet the urgent needs of the conversion of our economy. This may be attained through temporary cuts in some outlays for armaments.

8. The national economic aims and means, generally outlined above, will check the decline, will bring about a renewed rapid upswing in the national income and will increase the portion of the national income intended for the needs of the population. This will make it possible again to increase investments and to develop the economy in a rational way through its thorough modernization that reduces the consumption of capital, materials and energy. The conversion operation combined with the reform, for the implementation of which the former provides favorable conditions, will reduce the time of overcoming the crisis and will make it possible to free the country from the debt trap.

Unlike the government program which, while bringing about a deep and long decline in the living standards of people and leaving no prospects for the younger generation, threatens with social convulsions of incalculable consequences, the alternative program would make it possible to better meet the social needs and would strengthen our country's economic sovereignty.

Restoring the Market Equilibrium

To successfully implement the alternative program for overcoming the crisis and reforming the economy, it is necessary in the immediate future to restore the market equilibrium. This should be attained at the smallest possible social costs.

The enormous imbalance is a result, on the one hand, of declining production, and on the other, and primarily, of the excess of money. The most dangerous effect of this situation is the disintegration of the market, and the insufficient food supplies drastically manifested in the shortage of food for rations, and in the decomposed economic links between the countryside and the city.

To restore the market equilibrium, we propose the following measures:

1. The inflationary overhang [nawis] is temporarily to be frozen through the exchange of money up to an amount determined in consultation with the population. The remaining sums are to be frozen in the post savings bank for a period of 3 years, except those purposefully paid for the documentally proved needs of production and economic turnover, as well as unforeseen expenses [wydatki losowe]. The frozen savings will be revaluated proportionally to the growing prices and, after the freeze period, will be gradually freed within the following 5 years.

2. The inflationary gap is to a large degree to be narrowed through the introduction of a compulsory loan with the character of progressive taxes from incomes per each member of the family and from incomes exceeding the average. That loan would be contracted for 3 years, would be subject to revaluation and would be repaid within the following 5 years (in version II, that point is dispensable).

3. As long as there is no market equilibrium, the farmers should obtain the guaranteed chance to buy means for farm production in proportion to the value of farm produce delivered to procurement centers. In relation to delivered produce, farmers may obtain coupons for commodities they need.

4. We present other measures aimed at restoring the market equilibrium in two versions:

Version I

A) The price of food is to be raised to the level of the current costs of its production and distribution, the population is to be paid full compensation equal to the current budgetary food subsidies, and the compensation is to be divided in equal shares among all recipients of wages and benefits.

B) Rationed food is to be sold in two groups: meat and butter on coupons specifying commodities and their amounts, in quantities fixed before ration cuts, and other foodstuffs on coupons only specifying values.

C) Food exceeding the needs of rationed sales will be sold on the free market.

D) When the market recovers its equilibrium and the difference between coupon and free market prices gradually narrows, individual commodity groups will be exempted from rationing.

Version II

A) A portion of the inflationary overhang, not eliminated by means of the compulsory progressive loan from incomes, is to be removed by increasing food prices to the level of production and freeing meat sales. If the market is slow to return to equilibrium, in addition to rationing, commercial prices are to be introduced on liquors and cigarettes and the prices of some manufactured goods raised.

B) Compensations for the increased prices should guarantee the so-called crisis minimum for each wage and benefit recipient.

C) The crisis minimum encompasses rationed foodstuffs and other living costs at the standard level. The value of the crisis minimum will be updated periodically in consultation with trade unions.

D) All wages are to be frozen until the economic reform is completed.

E) Compensations are to be paid to persons whose incomes sank below the crisis minimum, and in amounts equal to those differences. The compensation sum must not exceed the increase in living costs.

Institutional Guarantees for the Union's Economic Program

To successfully implement the program for real anticrisis measures and the economic reform, both satisfying the hopes and interests of society and accepted by society, the union should make an attempt to come to terms with the authorities and to define the principles of cooperation. To give society minimum guarantees, the union should have control over the implementation of the program for overcoming the crisis, over preparations for and the implementation of the reform, over money issuing and so forth.

The list of our postulates which, after their implementation, may constitute a basis for cooperation with the government is as follows:

1. Self-government chambers are to be set up under people's councils, and a socio-economic chamber under the Sejm. The formation of the said chambers is dispensable if people's councils are elected freely and the Sejm is appropriately reformed.

2. Until the formation of those chambers, an economic council is to be set up composed of representatives of the self-government movement and trade unions to perform control functions.

3. The form of a nationwide referendum is to be accepted as a procedure to settle disputes between the authorities and a trade union about essential public issues.

4. Trade unions should obtain free access to the mass media.

5. Social policy is to be closely consulted and agreed upon with trade unions.

The union regards the aforesaid postulates as an indispensable condition for cooperation with the government, and their rejection will give the union grounds for taking appropriate steps.

The presented program for overcoming the economic crisis and for the economic reform is an indispensable condition for the successful implementation of the entire union's social program set forth in other theses.

Proposal No 3: A Realistic Version (Drafted by Ryszard Bugay, Zbigniew Janas, Wincenty Kazanczuk, Andrzej Krajewski and Waldemar Kuczynski)

1. The Polish economy has reached the brink of catastrophy. Production is sinking fast. The internal market is disintegrating. The most elementary goods are scarce. Shopping has become a torment. Because of the high and uncontrolled inflation rates, the situation of the poorest classes of the population is becoming increasingly dramatic. The old management system has been discomposed, but not replaced with a new one. Such a deep economic downfall has not been experienced by any country in post-war Europe.

2. The sources of the present crisis are deeply rooted in the economic and political system and in the economic policy pursued by the authorities who, while disregarding the basic national interests, blocked any attempt at reforming the system and dissipated enormous loans from abroad. The acute crisis was building up since the mid seventies, but sharply accelerated in the past year. Since they are torn apart by internal struggles, since the overwhelming majority is ill-disposed toward the initiated changes, and since an even greater majority is composed of incompetent and inefficient people, the authorities have proved to be unable to draft an anticrisis program and to implement it in cooperation with society. They have just recently made an attempt to draw up a program. However, that program has serious defects and has failed to win public approval.

3. Our union was formed when the economic crisis was about to reach its peak, and for this reason the struggle waged by us to beat down the public costs of the crisis could only produce partial effects. In the future we must wage that struggle more resolutely and in a better considered manner. The first objective of our union's activity must be to prevent a complete economic breakdown and to protect society to the maximum from the effects of the crisis. But at the same time we must firmly and persistently fight for fundamental reforms in the economic and political system. History has proved beyond any doubt that as long as the existing system is not reformed, the crisis cannot be overcome in a lasting and fundamental manner.

Our union cannot and will not give up the struggle to reform the system. However, we would like to strongly emphasize that we do not oppose the socialist principles of the system; we oppose the elements of the system that contradict those principles.

4. While resolutely fighting the crisis, we consider it our duty to state that there is no panacea to rapidly heal our economy. Society shoulders the burden of the crisis, and for some time that burden will grow even heavier. However, we must endeavor to overcome the crisis in the shortest time possible.

5. The most fundamental thing is to check the decline in production. What we primarily need for this purpose are increased funds for the import of raw and other materials and spare parts. Obtaining them depends, to a large degree, on our trade partners in the East and West. However, we must not wait passively; we must do our utmost to obtain the maximum production on the basis of the means already available in the country. They must be appropriately distributed. In connection with this we call on the government:

-- To substantially increase the share of private farms in allotting production means, and particularly fertilizers, means for plant protection and fodder; this will make it possible to increase food production, because private farming is more effective than socialized farming;

-- To ruthlessly restrict production investments to the minimum necessary and to direct materials saved in this way to processing at the enterprises which already exist;

-- To take energetic steps to sell dispensable stocks (and particularly machines and equipment intended for investments that have been stopped) abroad or to private production enterprises in the country.

6. Being aware how important it is for the country to raise the output of coal and other raw materials, the congress calls on the government to give absolute priority to supplying technical equipment to mines, as well as to provide conditions for increasing output in the future. The congress finds that, notwithstanding the extremely difficult situation in many regions of the country, it is necessary to guarantee, for a year's period, abundant supplies of food and articles for hygienic purposes to mining areas. Incentives should also be provided to save coal primarily at enterprises, but also in private homes. The congress obligates the union's authorities to draw up, jointly with miners' representatives, the union's program for increasing coal output.

7. In view of the acute shortage of raw materials and energy, it is necessary in the nearest future to put a number of enterprises out of operation. Having this in mind, the union will, however, resolutely defend the right of collectives at enterprises brought to a standstill to perform other jobs after a paid retraining period.

8. The length of working time is now of no decisive importance for the volume of production. Being aware of the crisis situation, the congress recommends the union authorities abstain from demanding more free Saturdays in 1982. If the collectives are willing and if there are technical and organizational possibilities for it, operations may also continue on free Saturdays. In assuming this position, we refer to the pronouncement of our primate who, opening our congress, said: "The fatherland needs service."

9. The union lays great hopes on the initiatives of self-managing bodies and factory commissions in streamlining production and saving materials. The congress obligates the union authorities to give necessary organizational assistance to self-managing bodies.

10. The main objective of our activity must be to expand production. But we are aware that, even if the economic situation develops favorably, we will not be able to restore the market equilibrium by increasing commodity supplies alone. A decrease in the market demand is unavoidable. That can be achieved either through the introduction of a universal rationing system, or through restricting the monetary means of the population. Both ways imply high public costs.

Our union turns down both the total rationing system and plans for large single price increases. The universal rationing system results in wastefulness, brings about artificial shortages, builds up bureaucracy and the black market, eliminates the motivating functions of wages, and does not provide guarantees for the population's real incomes. On the other hand, not accepted by the public, a very large single price increase may result in a conflict having incalculable effects. Our union resolutely favors the idea of restoring the market equilibrium gradually, of retaining coupons for some goods for a transition period and of absolutely protecting the interests of the weakest groups of the population.

11. The most important point now is to prevent the complete disintegration of the market. However, the congress considers that the moves restricting the population's income must be brought to a minimum. The union considers that, in the sphere of basic articles and services, it is necessary -- for the reasons of stimulating savings by all means -- to raise the price of electricity and gas. This increase must be, to a large extent, compensated for. At the same time the congress recommends the union authorities bring about the acceptance of increased food prices, provided that the government guarantees after the price increase to abolish the rationing system and provide plentiful supplies. Price increases must be compensated for fully or near fully.

12. The increased prices of basic commodities must not substantially exhaust the population's monetary means. Draining increases without compensations or with small compensations may only be applied to the prices of necessities that are not basic. To keep public costs low, the congress proposes:

-- To increase the prices of liquors to the level of the price of equilibrium without compensation and at the same time to guarantee increased material assistance to the families of alcoholics;

-- To increase gasoline prices and to ration 60-70 percent of gasoline consumption; the remaining part of gasoline should be sold at the prices of equilibrium; increased gasoline prices do not need to be compensated for;

-- For a year's period, the prices of equilibrium should be applied to great luxury and luxury articles (for example, automobiles, color televisions, deep freezes and so forth); that would imply the need to postpone installment payment for a year.

13. Bearing in mind the requirements of social justice and the market equilibrium, the congress also favors progressively taxing per-family-capita incomes if they exceed the average, as well as taxing luxury items. That tax would apply to properties hitherto undertaxes: resort houses, excessive housing space irrespective of the form of ownership, and luxury automobiles. Those taxes should be applied universally, and possible exemptions should be made public.

14. The rates of interest from deposits in the postal savings bank must be increased immediately to encourage citizens to save. In the present market situation, this is particularly important.

15. While asking members of our union to accept new sacrifices, we proceed from the assumption that, under the present conditions, only common and selfless efforts in Solidarity can give us a better future. We must not expect our effort to be sufficiently gratified materially. Thus we appeal to moral incentives, to our national consciousness.

At the same time we are convinced that the proposed sacrifices will be smaller and will be distributed more fairly than those experienced by us today while standing in inhuman lines.

We do not accept increases as big as those announced by the authorities, along with too small compensations. We must pay the price of the reform, but we will defend against its costs those whose lives are the most difficult. For this reason we will not give up the idea of introducing cost-of-living allowances, the principle of compensations that are agreed upon, the demands to prolong maternity leave, to further increase family allowances and to recognize the social minimum as a guideline in increasing the lowest wages.

16. The union will expand assistance to its members and pensioners. We also will participate in the fair distribution of state assistance. In connection with the crisis, state services for social assistance must be expanded and strengthened. We demand that funds for social assistance be substantially increased. They must be drawn from the proposed equalizing taxes. On the other hand, we will not consent to a constant reviving of systems of privileges connected with positions held.

17. We bear the burden of bringing the country out of the crisis. Polish work and organization, resourcefulness and initiative, persistency and patience must motivate this work. However, we do not need to renounce any effective and possible assistance from outside, particularly when we ourselves begin to run the economy in line with the principles of the reform.

For this reason we ask the government to examine the possibilities of our country's return to the IMF and to present the conditions put by the fund to public opinion.

18. The decisive packet of the economic reform must be applied in 1981. Our consent to painful renunciations in order to restore the market equilibrium is only valid provided that at the same time a consistent reform is introduced. We do not accept the view that first the economic equilibrium must be restored, and then the reform can be introduced. These processes must take place in parallel.

The implementation of the reform announced in procurement prices and the union's consent to begin the first stage of balancing the internal market provide sufficient conditions for applying in 1981 a reformed economic and financial system at most enterprises. It is possible, and at the same time necessary, to immediately reform the economic management center, to guarantee conditions for socializing the planning process and to specify conditions for public control over central economic decisions.

The congress would like to strongly emphasize that we regard the theses concerning economic issues that we have presented as integral. We will not consent to price increases without guarantees that a social program will be implemented and reform will be undertaken simultaneously. An emergency program must constitute the first stage of a comprehensive economic reform.

Our union is prepared to start talks with the government to define a program for emergency measures, the principles of long-term economic policy, and the implementation of the reform. At the same time we would like to remind that such talks, initiated a few months ago, were then unilaterally suspended by the government side. Our union has also been skipped over in the work on correcting the 1981 plan. This is evidence that the authorities also shun cooperation with the union in economic affairs.

The congress calls the government's attention to the fact that without accepting society, particularly a union numbering almost 10 million workers, a successful anticrisis policy is impossible.

A condition for the successful struggle against the crisis lies not only in drawing up a program acceptable for society, but also in public control over the program's implementation. The union hopes that control in the future will be exerted by the reborn Sejm and people's councils, as well as by workers' self-managing bodies.

However, public control institutions must be formed immediately, because the experience of not only the sixties and the seventies, but also of the past year have proved beyond any doubt that leaving initiative to a government exempted from any control results in erroneous decisions, enhances inefficiency and particular interests. For this reason the union proposes to set up under the Sejm a public council for national economy. It should have within its powers the right to evaluate the government's economic policy, the economic situation and economic legal acts, as well as to initiate moves necessary in those fields. The council should have the right to present draft acts.

The public council for the national economy should act quite openly, and its members must have the right to consult society by means of the mass media.

The public council for the national economy must be composed of persons representing the country's main forces as well as Sejm representatives. In particular, representatives of trade unions, the episcopate and public organizations should belong to the council. The council should possess a necessary administrative apparatus.

The congress calls on the Sejm and the government to accept our proposal, and on the episcopate and public organizations to second it.

CEAUSESCU VISITS AFUMATI STATE FARM 3 NOV

AU031820 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Summary] President Nicolae Ceausescu met again today with agricultural and machine-building experts and agricultural workers during a working visit to the Afumati state agricultural enterprise in Ialomita County. He was accompanied on this visit by "Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea, Marin Enache, chairman of the Central Council of Workers Control of the Socioeconomic Activity, Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry, Angelo Miculescu, chairman of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, researchers, designers and other experts."

In the context of the party leader's overall concern with modernizing the machinery and technical equipment required by our agriculture, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu "inspected the new C-14U all-purpose self-propelled combine-harvester at work. He was impressed with the performance of the new type of combine-harvester, which can be used for harvesting both corn and grain. He was also shown "a new high-capacity agricultural trailer, which, however, could still be improved by increasing its loading capacity and reducing its weight." The party leader also discussed with the pertinent bodies the corn production attained this year by the Afumati farm, which he assessed as good.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BANGLADESH ENVOY ALAM

AU031200 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu this morning received Shamsul Alam, ambassador of the republic of Bangladesh in our country, at the latter's request. The ambassador handed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu a message of friendship on behalf of the acting president of the Republic of Bangladesh, Abdus Sattar, conveying cordial greetings and best wishes to the head of the Romanian state and expressing the desire to continue to develop the positive relations between Bangladesh and Romania.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the message and, in turn, asked the ambassador to extend cordial greetings and best wishes to the acting president of the Republic of Bangladesh. He stressed that he shares the latter's desire to expand and deepen relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Bangladesh.

The ensuing talk, which took place on this occasion, proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

BURTICA SIGNS TRADE AGREEMENT WITH FINLAND

AU302009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Helsinki, 30 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Esko Rekola, Finland's minister of external trade, signed a long-term trade agreement between the governments of the two countries, on October 30, in Helsinki.

The document stipulates the running of economic exchanges and cooperation on the basis of the-most-favoured-nation clause, the liberalization of mutual trade, as well as other facilities meant to ensure the expansion and diversification of collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and Finland.

On the occasion of his visit to Finland, Cornel Burtica conducted talks with Johannes Virolainen, speaker of the parliament, Eino Uusitalo, acting prime minister, Paavo Vayrynen, minister for foreign affairs, Esko Rekola, minister of external trade, Pirkko Tyolajarvi, minister of trade and industry, as well as with executives of Finnish industrial and commercial companies. Domains and ways of expanding economic exchanges on a balanced and stable basis between the two countries were discussed, as well as current international topics.

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON ALBANIAN PARTY CONGRESS

LD032016 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The main report delivered at the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party has confirmed that Albania is not giving up its interference in our country's internal affairs of its territorial claims on Yugoslavia. Milika Sundic speaks about this goodneighborliness, Enver Hoxha style:

[Begin recording] The Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party is attended by only one, so to say, legal delegation, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam. This is, in fact, the only party in power. The Communist Party of Vietnam. This is, in fact, the only party in power. The remaining 20 delegations of the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties from various parts of the world do not represent anybody. They are renegade groups of various parties on Enver Hoxha's payroll, which emerged at the time of the break in Albanian-Soviet relations and the Chinese cultural revolution.

The Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party began 3 days ago but the only thing known about it is Enver Hoxha's report. Hoxha's report, as a rule, will also be the congress' highest scope. Nothing can happen outside it or in bypassing it. Enver Hoxha is both the scenarist and the producer of a policy which has been abandoned and ignored by the whole world. Moreover, not a single foreign journalist is attending the Albanian congress.

Enver Hoxha, however, would not be true to himself had he not given vent in his report to his hatred for Yugoslavia. He did so, both on his own behalf as well as on behalf of the most reactionary circles in the world. And what surprise, the latter did not applaude him too much. Enver Hoxha's anti-Yugoslav hatred was accompanied by applause only from those attending the Eight Congress of the Albanian Workers Party by his choice.

Some circles in the world, on which he has counted and which, in fact, the Albanian interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs before, during and after the events in Kosovo has suited, are even beginning to shrink from Enver Hoxha's peace recipes. It is entirely certain that Enver Hoxha's compatriots have no better opinion of his peace-loving nature either. It is truly incredible that the worsening of relations with Yugoslavia is in the interest of the Albanian people. And this is precisely what Enver Hoxha wants. Without any reservations he identified himself with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and he thus confirmed, also without reservations, that Albania was the main instigator of the troubles in Kosovo. Though he is conscious of the failure of the anti-Yugoslav conspiracy, Enver Hoxha identified himself also at the Eight Congress of the Albanian Workers Party as the sworn enemy of Yugoslavia and of peace in this part of the world.

There are also funny things in Enver Hoxha's speech at the congress; for instance, the assertion that the decisions of the second session of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia -- 29 November 1943] had been adopted without consultations with Albania. Let us recall that the AVNOJ decisions had not been to Stalin's liking either but nobody had asked Stalin to like them, and even less Enver Hoxha. And, anyway, why ask, since in Jajce, decisions were made about Yugoslavia and the destiny of its people and not about anybody else. Enver Hoxha, however, does not like AVNOJ because he does not know how to justify the present interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, that is, his demand for Kosovo obtaining the status of a republic. Hoxha's strangest assertion is the one about noninterference and yet for years he has been engaged in attempts to reshape the consitutional order of Yugoslavia.

As at the preceding congresses, the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party also represents Albania's continued isolation from all the progressive forces in the world.

Not a single review of the Albanian congress published so far has overlooked this fact. This time too, Enver Hoxha's Stalinist regime has had nothing else to offer the world except Stalinism. This commodity does not sell, not even those to whom it is offered for free want to take it. Albanian isolationism has created from one of the smallest and poorest countries in the world a fortress surrounded by barbed wire from which many would like to flee but to which, even if the wire fence could be jumped over easily, nobody wants to flee except criminals and bandits, and even they are diminishing. [end recording]

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM HOLDS SESSION

LD031758 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG) -- At its session today the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee discussed and adopted the report on its work between October 1980 and October 1981 which will be submitted to the next session of the Central Committee.

Some topical questions of LCY international cooperation and questions pertaining to the current activity of the Presidium were also discussed at the session.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium decided that the next session of the LCY Central Committee be held on 17th November this year.

The Central Committee will be asked to discuss and adopt the political platform of the League of Communists for action by organized socialist forces on further socio-economic development, consolidation of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo.

A report on the course of preparations for the 12th LCY Congress will also be submitted at the Central Committee session.

CULAFIC, MARINC DISCUSS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

LD029158 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG) -- The action on the implementation of the stands of the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee is still not yielding the results it should and the kind of results required by our serious economic situation. It can be said that we are in a stage of sobering up which, nonetheless, the awareness is growing about the need to consistently carry out the policy of economic stabilization. However, such behavior, on the whole, prevails in the environments and work organizations which face the biggest problems in the process of production, which suffered losses, which encounter the problems of paying out regular personal income, and the like. On the other hand, the broad front of creative forces has not yet been motivated to an adequate extent. It is perhaps not necessary to say that the stands of the Central Committee, that is to say stabilization, will be implemented only on the condition that a resolute turnabout is made in the conduct and in the work of everyone -- ranging from the basic organizations of associated labor to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

This in fact was the main reason for the meeting held today between Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the secretaries of the presidia of the LC central and provincial committees in fact, the object of the meeting was to evaluate the activities in the republics and provinces, and also those taken at the federal level so that the activities on the implementation of the stands of the 21st session can be synchronized and coordinated to the maximum.

Andrej Marinc spoke of the actions taken in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He said that inadequate activity in specific environments is often mentioned as an excuse for the fact that a comprehensive program of economic stabilization still does not exist.

This thesis, he stressed, we must not accept because it demoralizes the people and is not exactly in keeping with the truth. It is a fact that for 2 years now the LCY has been working on an ideological platform for this comprehensive program. And besides we will not win the struggle for stabilization with only the work of the organs and forums, but as a result of the overall involvement of all production, creative, scientific and other potentials.

Marinc then spoke at length about the activity of the commission of the Federal Councils to draft a longterm stabilization platform, stressing that the high level of unity on some strategic questions of further development had been attained. Proceeding from the fact that the foreign liquidity of our country is the determined component for the overall social and economic development of our country we decided for a more aggressive export policy. In this sense, 12 percent growth of exports for next year is planned compared to the original 7 percent.

It is also envisaged that the payments deficit will be liquidated in 1983 [as received] and that it must not be higher than $500 million next year. Of course, stressed Marinc, intensive work must be done to carry out this policy and to develop a program which will involve to the maximum associated labor, chambers of economy, socio-political communities, self-management interest communities for foreign trade, and all other subjects.

Of course, certain steps will have to be taken to ease the burden on the economy through taxation, contributions, monetary policy and the like. An approach to the selective growth of production will have to be made which means that priority will be given to export oriented production. As a logical consequence, one has to expect that difficulties will arise with supplies of certain products, said Marinc, about which working people must be informed in time.

Speaking of the federal budget, Marinc stressed that on this occasion it must be fully incorporated in the policy of stabilization, which means that it must not grow over and above the social product and that its valorization does not come into question. Admittedly, for a number of years now, the federal budget has been falling, for instance, in 1976 it amounted only to 11 percent of the social product, and 8.5 percent today. It is very important to take all the measures to organize the Yugoslav economy for a joint appearance on the world market, which presupposes an integration of the economy moving in the direction of mergers on the basis of income.

The secretaries of the presidia of the LC central and provincial committees spoke in detail about the situation in their environments and of the measures taken to carry out the stands of the 21st Session of the LCY Central Committee. More or less, the problems everywhere are the same. However, the basic attention focused on the position and role of the League of Communists at this juncture. From all the statements there emerges the conclusion that the League of Communists must of necessity change its present method of work and that it must operate more through the institutions and organs of our political system. On questions of the policy of stabilization, political differentiation will be carried out within the party because there is present today, more than it should, verbalism, forum type of work, opportunism and other manifestations alien to the essence of the League of Communists.

It was stressed that the League of Communists was not finding appropriate solutions for many phenomena. Frequent attacks on some basic values of our system are noticeable and yet either the League of Communists or communists as individuals are not always capable of fighting resolutely against such phenomena. All this confirms that the ideopolitical work, in particular with young League of Communists members, has been neglected in the party for some time already.

Closing the debate of several hours, Dobroslav Culafic stressed that the League of Communists, from the basic organization to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, must have economic stabilization programs worked out in detail because it is on these issues that the League of Communists is being tested today. We can no longer allow the practice of good conclusions being adopted but badly implemented to continue. Should this practice continue, very bad political consequences could ensue such as the loss of trust of the working people and citizens in the League of Communists and in its ability to implement its own policy. We, for instance, speak today of the reduction in veterans' protection and in the funds needed by the Yugoslav People's Army and yet only in the past year and a half we spent about 17 billion dinars for 182 international manifestations held in our country. In that time, for instance, four world, 11 European and 20 Balkan championships were held in Yugoslavia. That such a practice is continuing is also shown by the fact that 83 new international gatherings have already been planned. Culafic stressed that if the federal budget is being reduced, all other aspects of consumption in republics, provinces, municipalities, self-managing interest communities, etc, should also be cut. Only in this way can we mobilize all the working people in the implementation of the economic stabilization policy.

KOSOVO'S NIMANI ON ALBANIA'S 'HOSTILE ACTIVITY'

AU031215 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 81 p 6

[TANJUG report]

[Text] Speaking yesterday at a meeting of the organization of the Federation of Trade Unions at the Metaliku combine in Djakovica, Dzavid Nimani, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the LCY Central Committee, pointed out that the enemies in Kosovo have failed to achieve their counterrevolutionary goal, thanks to the determination of the League of Communists, the workers class and the peoples and nationalities of the province, above all the broad masses of the people of Albanian nationality, to preserve the achievements of the socialist revolution, as well as to the support and solidarity provided by the peoples and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and our entire country.

Nimani devoted a part of his speech to the hostile activity of Albania. In this connection, he said:

"At the same time as comprehensive activities for economic stabilization and for settling the political situation continue in Kosovo, the propaganda and the hostile activity from Albania against our country are being increasingly intensified from day to day in the press, radio and television, in the anti-Yugoslav publications distributed in the world and through an activation of anti-Yugoslav elements and even through terrorist actions.

"What is the basic characteristic of this anti-Yugoslav propaganda? Nothing else but a distortion of truth about the situation in our country and especially in Kosovo. The demonstrators and the hostile slogans are being shamelessly identified with the masses of the Albanian people in Kosovo," Nimani emphasized, "and thereby a gross insult is being committed against us, because the masses of the Albanian people have condemned the demonstrations, their promoters and their hostile platform. And that is not all. The masses of the Albanian people are also actively struggling against them because they know that Albanian nationalism and irredentism are class enemies primarily of the Albanian people. Furthermore, these have constantly negated and continue to negate our material and social development and the assertion of the socialist self-management development of Kosovo.

"They negate Kosovo's real constitutional system, and the consitutional position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia; that is, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

"By intensifying in this manner propaganda and hostile activity against Yugoslavia, the Albanian leadership aims at promoting the irredentist and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo, among the Albanian population, as well as in other parts of Yugoslavia and among the workers of Albanian nationality who are temporarily employed abroad.

"In the same way it also aims at presenting our national policy and the position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia to the world in a distorted light, and thereby strives to destroy our country's reputation in the world. And the ultimate goal of all that is to provoke Yugoslavia's destabilization.

"The Albanian leadership supports the demand that Kosovo become a republic and that all Albanians living in Yugoslavia form one republic, and inspires nationalism, irredentism and separatism in Kosovo. This policy and hostile behavior of the Albanian leadership," Nimani continued, "is primarily a result of the Stalinist-bureaucratic system existing in Albania, a system that is characterized by demands for a greater state, for the 'greater Albania'.

"This policy is contrary to the policy of good-neighborly relations and internationalism. This hostile policy has nothing in common with the alleged concern for the masses of the Albanian people living in the socialist self-managing Yugoslavia, because it is hostile toward all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and primarily strikes preceisely at the vital interests of the Albanian nationality, which has forever linked its fate with the peoples and nationalities in socialist democratic Yugoslavia and is in no way envious of the Stalinist-police system in Albania where even the minimum personal freedoms do not exist and where even the movements of people from one commune to another are limited without special security permits.

"The Albanian leadership wants to divert the attention of the Albanian people from Albania's own internal difficulties and especially from the burdens of life in the den of absolutism and of isolation from the world," Nimani said. "However, these efforts have a short life, just as was the case in the period of the Cominform, because the Albanian people in Albania know and will know increasingly more about the real situation in Yugoslavia and Kosovo."

Concluding his speech, Dzavid Nimani noted that, in addition to its adventurist aspirations to become and represent the center of the international workers' movement, and wanting to obscure the sight of its own people and hide the total isolation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from the world, the AWP leadership maintains contacts and cooperates with and supports factions, groups and tiny groups of people in various countries which call themselves Marxist-Leninist parties but in fact represent no one. The Albanian leadership thereby acts destructively also toward other parties in the world.

JERKIC SPEAKS AT LJUBUSKI LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

LD300230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Ljubuski, 29 Oct (TANJUG) -- Ivo Jerkic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, speaking at a grand national rally in Ljubuski held to mark the anniversary of the liberation of this small Hercegovian town, recalled that as early as 1920 an organization of the communist party had been formed in Ljubuski, and that the communist candidates in this region obtained more than 500 votes in the elections that year.

The uninterrupted influence of the communists in the region reached its culmination on 13 June 1941, when the first victims fell here, and when over 50 Ljubuski inhabitants went off to join the armed struggle. About 1,600 fighters from the territory of this municipality took part in the national liberation struggle, Jerkic noted, and about 170 of them were slain for freedom. Among them were three people's heroes.

Jerkic then spoke about the 37 years of successful development of Ljubuski, during which agriculture and industry had developed, and about the problems facing this still underdeveloped municipality, especially where employment and implementation of the policy of economic stabilization are concerned.

He devoted particular attention to intranational relations and to the strengthening of brotherhood and unity, and in this context to the attempts by hostile forces, especially clerico-nationalists, to attack percisely that most great achievement of our revolution.

Nationalism in our country is not in the least related to the unresolved national question, Jerkic said. Nationalism in our country is only a mask to cover up other political tendencies -- anti-self-management, bureaucratic-technocratic, careerist, clericalist, anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary tendencies. However, he stressed, the basic conflict between the interests of the working class and all working people who fight for socialism and self-management and the interests of those supporting the aforementioned tendencies. This is in our country the real, ideological, political, class, social and cultural conflict. In this conflict and in the struggle against socialism and self-management, Jerkic emphasized, various enemies both internal and external, need nationalism.

The member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency went on to say that they often use this to manipulate the masses by abuse of peoples' national feelings. This nationalism not infrequently is manifested in apparently unimportant things such as the use of national flags and other marks on various occasions, emphasis on linguistic problems, expression of folk characteristics and so forth, in so far as this goes beyond the framework of genuine national expression and is used as a hostile manifestation. It is quite clear, he said, that our national flags may be used everywhere as long as they have their own socialist characteristics. But, in so far as they appear without these characteristics then it is not only a political and nationalist provocation, but also a hostile act. It is a similar case, too, with certain national songs to which a hostile content is given. For instance, the court did not convict Father Janjic or those lads from Lipno because they sang national songs as people would like to make out, but because their singing had hostile motives and content essentially, and because it directly gave rise to national hatred.

Among the hostile activities directed toward attempts at the political destabilization of our society, Jerkic went on, the clericalist and clerico-nationalist activity of certain priests has recently been increasingly in evidence. We have witnessed such activity in this region too. It should first and foremost be emphasized that this is not the first time that we as a socialist self-managing society have come up against these problems, in spite of the fact that relations between the church and state, as the most eminent dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church acknowledge, are regulated by our constitution and laws in such a way as to offer an adequate basis and satisfactory framework for the realization of religious freedom. We have always consistently respected such a attitude toward religous freedom, based upon the principles of the separation of church and state. But, as Jerkic emphasized, freedom of religion is clearly not in question.

The question is therefore, he went on, as to what are the real causes of the increased clericalism at this moment and what are the motives of certain religous officials which prompt them openly to take the side of the enemy?

It is possible that these motives must be sought in the enemy's assessments that the church, as an organized institution, could effectively be made use of for their aims, just as it is possible that the church itself is trying by its politicization to resolve some of its own problems. According to Jerkic, the church has thereby, it seems, begun the fight for believers, a fight which is, by its nature, unacceptable for our society because it abuses peoples' religious feelings. The abuse of these feelings even goes so far as to directly undermine, by identifying religious and national feelings, one of the basic achievements of our revolution -- the brotherhood and unity of our peoples.

Having recalled that there were many believers in the ranks of veterans of the national liberation war and that they are today equal citizens of the socialist community who make their full contribution to its development, Jerkic said that it is well-known from the history of this region and further afield, what political role part of the clergy had played. I would remind you of the period between the two wars, he said. The dominant influence of this region was that of the Croatian Peasant Party of the Radic brothers, which offered the people in this region a few solutions to their problems in both the national and the social aspects. The clergy had a big share in this and politically aligned itself with the so-called Populist Party which was the ideological and political adjunct of Korosec's Clerical Populist Party which again played an important role in protecting the interests of the bourgeois society of the Karadjordjevic Dynasty. This, he emphasized, was in direct contradiction to the interests of the Croatian people. This policy was conducted here by Father Dominik Mandic whom we meet after the war, too, in the hostile ranks abroad.

It is even better known, Jerkic went on, what role part of the clergy played during the last war, when the very highest ranks of the Catholic Church placed themselves in the direct service of the occupying forces and the Ustashas, all allegedly in the interests of the Croatian people. It should be said, he stressed, that the great majority of the Croatian people never followed such a policy because it could not recognize its interests in it.

It is also known, Jerkic went on, that a section of the clergy emigrated abroad as a result of its dirty work during the war and its direct connection with the Ustashas and fascism, fleeing from the judgement of the people; and even today has continued its hostile activity. The church, the member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency said, has not distanced itself from that section of its emigre officials, but has on the contrary begun a broad action to rehabilitate Stepinac, one of those who was convicted of crimes committed during the war by a people's court. It is therefore no surprise that a number of priests who went abroad as citizens of this country after the war joined the hostile emigration. Father Ante Guvalo, for example, even became a member of the well-known emigre organisation which calls itself the "Croatian National Council".

Unlike these, Jerkic stressed, one should point out that there were also honorable priests who went along with their people both in the war and the post-war period. Among these are also some from this region such as Father Serafim Dodig, Father Tomo Zubac, Father Zlatko Sivric and others.

In conditions of increased activity on the part of all our enemies certain priests in this area have appeared undertaking hostile activity, Jerkic said. In the last few days, he recalled, the court sentenced Father Jozo Zovko, a priest from Medjugorje, who attempted, under the guise of protecting the rights of the believers to visions, [reference to vision of Our Lady of Citluk] to abuse a gathering of believers for hostile propaganda of a highly nationalist hue such as cost us very dear in the not so distant past.

It is all the more amazing, Jerkic stressed, that Bishop Zanic of Mostar has protested to Comrade Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, demanding that the most energetic measures should be taken against the allegedly irresponsible attacks upon him and his priests, Father Jozo Zovko and Father Ferdo Vlasic.

Our freedom has cost us far too much for us to allow anyone to play about with it, Jerkic underlined. We are aware that in building our socialist self-managing relations further and strengthening the material basis of our society, we create the necessary conditions in which believers themselves will be able increasingly more successful in opposing any abuse of religion and the church for political aims. It must be clear that every citizen who acts in a hostile faction comes into conflict with the law and must therefore answer for it. And therefore the priest who commits such a deed answers like any other citizen, Jerkic told the grand popular rally in Ljubuski.

DEFENSE EXERCISES SHOW 'HIGH LEVEL' PREPAREDNESS

AU291040 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 81 p 12

[Z.H. report]

[Summary] Osijek -- "More than 300,000 working people and citizens participated in the concluding actions of the 'Nothing Must Surprise Us-81' exercise action in Slavonija and Baranja. According to Marko Djukic, action coordinator of the Osijek Regional Committee of the SAWP of Croatia, on Saturday and Sunday more than 560 local communities and 820 basic organizations of associated labor demonstrated their high level of readiness and ability to confirm in practical actions their preparedness for any situation, and for fulfilling their tasks in all-people's defense and social self-protection." The concluding practical actions varied from commune to commune and included such activities as clearing forests and collecting firewood for heating in Vinkovci commune, rescue training in the event of an earthquake in Nova Gradiska commune and publication of special bulletins and proclamations of general mobilization in Osijek commune.

"'It has been generally concluded,' Marko Djukic says, 'that all participants of the exercises are increasingly well organized and everyone knows what we must do. And for this reason all tasks were fulfilled.'" All communities showed a high level of preparedness for functioning in practical situations, and for "linking training according to the concepts of all-people's defense and social self-protection with immediate work and other tasks." According to Marko Djukic, this was the special quality of the "Nothing Must Surprise Us-81" exercise action.

BRIEFS

BAUXITE FOR USSR -- The Jugomineral foreign trade enterprise of Zagreb has contracted to supply the Soviet firm Raznoimport with 200 thousand tons of bauxite. The contract is valued at 230 million dinars. The bauxite will be produced in the Jadral aluminum plant of Obrovac and will be delivered by the end of next March. [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 3 Nov 81 LD]

DEATH OF MONTENEGRO OFFICIAL -- Djordjije Kalezic, member of the Council of Montenegro, died yesterday at the age of 70. He played a prominent role in the national liberation war and held the "1941 Partisan Certificate of Service". After the war he held numerous important posts in the republic and the federation. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 1 Nov 81 LD]